

SOME ASPECTS OF SYNTACTIC VARIATION
IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE.

Euzi Rodrigues Moraes

Ph.D.

Department of Linguistics

University of Edinburgh

April, 1980.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo and the British Council for sponsoring my studies.

I am also indebted to my supervisor, Professor S. Pit Corder, for his assistance and help. His acute perception of my academic motivations and goals and his quick grasp of Portuguese grammar have greatly aided my understanding of the problems I have had to tackle.

I was fortunate enough to count on the help of Suzanne Romaine, whose lucid criticisms on my arguments and important suggestions have had a significant influence on my thinking. I am especially grateful to her for her friendship and moral support.

Sincere thanks go to Barbara Beste for having competently assisted me in handling the results of the subjective attitude test; to Gillian Schärer, for having kindly offered to read the final draft; and to John Bowie and Moira Calderwood, for checking the translation of the Portuguese data.

Inaccuracies and imperfections still remain, but they are entirely my responsibility.

It is also my duty to acknowledge the contribution of those who have assisted or participated in the data-gathering. Special thanks go to Ana Maria Bernardes da Silveira Rocha, head of the Departamento de Ensino Fundamental of the Brazilian Ministry of Education, and Arabelo do Rosário, former Secretary of State for Education, for granting me access to documents which would otherwise be out of my reach. Particular mention must be made of the thorough work done by Teresinha Tristão Bichara. Thanks to her, I have never run short of recorded tapes, in spite of the distances separating Britain from Brazil.

I have also greatly appreciated the cooperation of the patient Brazilians, whether in Britain or in Brazil, who have put up with my never-ending search for language samples, and endured strenuous testing,

as well as the contribution of my former Portuguese and French teacher, Professor Ivo Amâncio de Oliveira, who has supplied me with information on earlier studies in Portuguese.

Finally, thanks are due to my cousin Nuzia Gomes Batista, who accompanied me on my visits to remote villages, and whose double role as a relative and vernacular speaker has greatly added to the authenticity of this research; and to my nephew Tercio Ribeiro de Moraes, who drove us around and helped with the interviews.

The typing was done by Mrs. Hazel Whittley, to whom I am grateful for her efficiency and useful suggestions.

I must not close without expressing my deepest gratitude to my parents, José de Paula Moraes and Dolores Rodrigues de Moraes, whose own diligence and hard work has constantly inspired me to seek new frontiers.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and represents my own original thought. Where other works have been cited, the source has been acknowledged.

.....

Euzi Rodrigues Moraes

ABSTRACT

This work has a twofold purpose: to show some of the patterns of variation in operation in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and to establish correlations between the Brazilian linguistic situation and the Portuguese teaching problems.

These goals are pursued by means of (a) a sociolinguistic analysis of parts of the negation and pronoun systems in the variety of BP used in the State of Espírito Santo, and (b) the interpretation of the results of that analysis in the light of the educational policies enforced by the government and the social structures in which the educational process evolves.

My original assumptions are that BP is a post-creole continuum and that the poor standards of Portuguese teaching in Brazil are brought about by a misapprehension of the linguistic situation as a whole.

The work is divided into six parts. In part I the relevant background information is supplied in three chapters: the first chapter is an introduction covering a review of studies in pidgins and creoles, a brief expansion of the concept of lectal continuum and a report on Portuguese teaching in Brazil. The second chapter is a description of the methodological procedures whereby the data were collected, and the third chapter supplies linguistic background information. In Part II a pilot analysis of the original data is carried out. In Part III emerging hypotheses are tested against the evidence of additional data. Implicational relationships between variants are then formalized in a set of

implicational scales. Part IV is a description of the subjective attitude test. Results are presented in tables and scales. Part V supplies further information from (a) a test case and (b) two New Testament translations, i.e. a standard translation and a so-called popular one. The test case shows the amount of variation spanned by an individual speaker's repertoire; the New Testament translations supply further evidence as to judgements on formality and informality as well as on social acceptance. Part VI presents a series of conclusions, points to new directions and puts forward an educational proposal. Four appendices accompany the work: one copy of each of the two questionnaires utilized in fieldwork, a copy of the tables showing the total number of responses to the main questionnaire, and a transcription of the language data on which the work is based.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

PART I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1:	INTRODUCTION	...	1
1.1	Studies in pidgins and creoles: a review		4
1.1.1	Rēvah (1963)	...	4
1.1.2	Valkhoff (1966)	...	8
1.1.3	Naro (1978)	...	9
1.2	The lectal continuum	...	10
1.3	Portuguese teaching in Brazil: background information	...	12
CHAPTER 2:	METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES	...	16
2.1	Preliminary considerations	...	16
2.2	The pilot study	...	17
2.3	The fieldwork	...	18
2.3.1	Scope and size of the corpus	...	19
2.3.1.1	Recorded data	...	19
2.3.1.2	Written data	...	21
2.3.1.3	Spoken data gathered in participant observation		22
2.4	The subjective attitude test	...	24
CHAPTER 3:	LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND INFORMATION. NEGATION AND PRONOUNS IN PORTUGUESE: AN OVERVIEW	...	28
3.1	Introduction	...	28
3.2	Negation in pre-modern Portuguese	...	28
3.2.1	Negation and word order	...	30
3.3	A historical outline of some pronoun forms		32
3.3.1	Historical uses of <u>ele</u> and <u>dele</u>	...	32
3.3.2	<u>Ele</u> in object position	...	34

		Page
PART II.	THE PILOT STUDY	
CHAPTER 1:	NEGATION	... 38
1.1	Introductory considerations	... 38
1.1.1	Negation morpheme sequences	... 39
1.1.2	Negative concord	... 40
1.1.3	Negative redundancy	... 41
1.1.4	The negation continuum	... 44
1.2	Data survey and preliminary analysis	... 44
1.2.1	The sentence negator NÃO and other preverbal negators	... 44
1.2.1.1	The role of NÃO in continuous and discontinuous strings	... 45
1.2.1.2	NÃO and word order	... 47
1.2.1.3	NÃO deletion	... 50
1.2.1.4	NÃO and negative adverbials	51
1.2.2	Morphologically unmarked negation	... 52
1.2.2.1	Formally non-negative negators	53
1.2.2.2	Syntax-based negators	... 54
1.2.2.2.1	The negative NP	54
1.2.2.2.2	ALG-forms	... 56
1.2.2.3	Variation patterns in the negation system	... 57
1.2.3	Lectal congruence within the negation system	... 57
1.2.4	The sentence-final NÃO	... 59
1.2.4.1	In double-NÃO constructions	59
1.2.4.2	In constructions in which the first negator is a negative morpheme other than NÃO	... 63
1.2.5	NÃO and the negation continuum: from morphologically redundant to morphologically non-negative	... 65
1.2.5.1	Hierarchy of redundancy and concord	... 66
1.2.6	Multiple negation	... 69
1.2.7	NÃO-types	... 69

		Page
CHAPTER 2:	PRONOUNS	73
2.1	Preliminary considerations	73
2.2	The two continua: some theoretical remarks	79
2.3	Analysis	80
	2.3.1 Pronoun variants	80
	2.3.2 Pronouns and word order	83
2.4	The simplicity/complexity issue in relation to the BP negation and pronoun systems	84
2.5	A pronoun hierarchy of environmental constraints	86
	2.5.1 Personal pronouns	87
	2.5.2 Possessive pronoun hierarchy	89
	2.5.3 Case-levelling in the mesolect	91
	2.5.4 Basilectal system	92
	2.5.5 Summary	93
PART III.	THE MAIN ANALYSIS	
CHAPTER 1:	THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	95
CHAPTER 2:	ANALYSIS	105
2.1	Criteria for the classification of the data	106
2.2	Morphological vs syntax-based negation	108
	2.2.1 Negative concord	108
	2.2.2 Negative preposing and postverbal ALG	110
	2.2.3 Preverbal ALG	112
2.3	Hierarchies	115
	2.3.1 Redundancy	115
	2.3.2 Concord	129
	2.3.3 Nunca ~ jamais ~ em tempo algum	142
	2.3.4 Summary	147
2.4	Generic vs specific negative NP	152
2.5	Double-NÃO utterances and NÃO-deletion _{pv}	155
	2.5.1 Sentence-final negators	155
	2.5.2 Double-NÃO utterances	156
	2.5.3 Sentence-final NÃO in the environment of NEG _{pv}	157

2.5.4	NÃO-deletion patterns in adult and child language: a comparison between two types of utterances ...	158
2.5.4.1	NÃO-deleted constructions	159
2.5.4.2	NÃO-deletion in child language ...	164
2.6	Variation patterns in the system of negation: summary ...	168
2.7	Pronouns ...	170
2.7.1	Introduction ...	170
2.7.1.1	Basilect ...	171
2.7.1.2	Acrolect ...	173
2.7.1.3	Mesolect vs Acrolect and Basilect ...	174
2.7.2	Analysis ...	174
2.7.2.1	Third person ...	174
2.7.2.2	First person ...	180
2.7.2.3	Second person ...	183
2.7.2.4	<u>Você</u> and <u>ele</u> ...	185
2.7.2.5	Indirect object ...	188
2.7.2.6	Hierarchy of environmental constraints ...	191
2.7.2.7	Implicational relations between pronoun variants ...	193
2.7.3	Pronoun use in child language ...	200
2.8	The two continua ...	201
2.8.1	Negation ...	201
2.8.2	Pronoun ...	201

PART IV. THE SUBJECTIVE ATTITUDE TEST

CHAPTER 1:	INTRODUCTION ...	204
1.1	Questions proposed ...	204
1.1.1	Linguistic ill-formedness ...	204
1.1.2	Lectal incongruence ...	204
1.1.3	Social acceptability ...	205
1.1.4	Formality ...	205
1.1.5	Meaning ...	205
1.1.6	Stylistic congruence ...	205
1.2	Interpretation of results ...	205

		Page
CHAPTER 2:	THE FINDINGS	208
2.1	Introduction	208
2.2	Meaning	208
2.2.1	Negation	208
2.2.2	Pronouns	210
2.3	Linguistic ill-formedness vs sociolinguistic incongruence	212
2.3.1	With sentence-finals accumulation	214
2.3.2	With positive <u>alguém</u>	217
2.3.3	With NÃO-deletion-without-cost	217
2.3.4	With (+ Prep) possessives other than <u>dele</u>	219
2.4	Lectal incongruence	220
2.4.1	Preposed NEG and ALG	221
2.4.2	Subject ALG	222
2.4.3	ALG-utterance	223
2.5	Cross-system lectal switch	225
2.6	Social acceptability	227
2.6.1	Redundant NÃO	227
2.6.1.1	<u>Ninguém</u>	227
2.6.1.2	<u>Nunca</u> and <u>nem</u>	229
2.6.2	Pronoun variants: personal	230
2.6.2.1	The rejection scale	231
2.7	The formality scale	234
2.7.1	Pronoun variants	234
2.7.1.1	D.O. <u>eu</u> ~ <u>me</u>	236
2.7.1.2	<u>Nos</u> vs an acrolectal feature	237
2.7.1.3	<u>Você</u> ~ <u>o</u>	238
2.7.1.4	I.O. <u>você</u> ~ <u>lhe</u>	241
2.7.1.5	I.O. <u>ele</u> ~ <u>lhe</u>	241
2.7.1.6	D.O. <u>ele</u> ~ <u>o</u>	242
2.7.1.7	(+ Prep) Object ~ (- Prep) Object	244
2.7.1.8	<u>Seu</u> ~ <u>dele</u>	247
2.7.1.9	<u>Seu</u> ~ de <u>você(s)</u>	249
2.7.1.9.1	<u>Seu</u> ~ de <u>vocês</u>	249
2.7.1.9.2	<u>Seu</u> ~ de <u>você</u>	252

2.7.2	Negative constructions	...	254
2.7.2.1	ALG ~ NEG	...	254
2.7.2.2	Reversible singly-negated utterances	...	259
2.7.2.3	Utterances with NÃO-deletion-without-cost	...	261
2.7.2.4	Double-NÃO vs single-NÃO	...	263
2.7.2.5	Marked vs unmarked negation		263
2.7.2.6	Preposed NEG ~ NÃO/ALG	...	264
2.7.2.7	Basilectal variants	...	265
2.7.3	Address agreement	...	267
2.7.4	Preverbal sequences	...	270

PART V.

FURTHER TESTING

CHAPTER 1:	THE TEST CASE	...	273
1.1	Informant's personal data	...	273
1.2	Informant's linguistic data	...	273
1.3	Variation in the data: negation	...	274
1.4	Variation in the data: pronouns	...	278
1.5	Negation and pronouns combined	...	281
1.6	Conclusion	...	281

CHAPTER 2: ACROLECT VS MESOLECT IN NEW TESTAMENT TRANSLATIONS

2.1	The standard translation	...	284
2.2	The popular translation	...	286
2.3	The two translations compared	...	286
2.4	Alternations detected	...	291
2.4.1	Pronouns	...	291
2.4.2	Negation	...	292
2.5	Concluding remarks	...	292

PART VI.

CONCLUSIONS

1	Reassessment of the creole hypothesis in the light of facts from Brazilian history	...	296
---	--	-----	-----

		Page
	1.1 Recent approaches to creolization ...	296
	1.2 A glimpse at Brazilian history ...	299
2	Syntactic as opposed to phonological variation ...	302
3	The BP language continuum ...	306
4	The time dimension ...	307
5	The mesolectal norm in the light of social trends in the ES society ...	309
6	Weaknesses ...	311
7	New directions ...	313
8	Educational implications ...	314
9	An educational proposal ...	319
	APPENDICES ...	324
1	Questionnaire ...	325
2	Appendix to the questionnaire ...	342
3	Tables showing total number of responses to questionnaire, as in Appendix 1 ...	345
4	Data ...	356
	BIBLIOGRAPHY ...	389



Map of Brasil showing areas referred to in this thesis

PART I. GENERAL BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In O Infinito Flexionado em Português (Moraes, 1973), I approach the Portuguese inflected infinitive as a feature typical of the standard variety of Portuguese (hereafter SP), hardly known to vernacular speakers. At the end of the study I discuss the status of this verb form in Brazilian Portuguese (hereafter referred to as BP) and the pedagogical implications of language variation. Before closing the discussion, I brought into the picture the behaviour of the inflection system as a whole, both verbal and nominal, if only to strengthen the case made, in the concluding remarks, for the variable nature of that system. My aim was to shed light on educational problems such as the failure of the school to promote the effective development of the pupil's communicative skills in using what is commonly agreed to be his mother tongue.

The assumptions underlying those early attempts at tackling both the linguistic and educational issues together were motivated by my belief that (1) the language taught in the school under the label of mother tongue¹ is an imported variety; (2) the educational policies adopted by the government were not succeeding in detecting the basic cause of the failure of the language teaching programme in achieving its goals; and (3) the linguistic norms actually in operation in the linguistic community point to a variable language system. The third assumption led to the collapse of the distinction between 'register' and 'social dialect' as linguistic entities which are different in kind, and

1. Strangely enough, the established word for the language used as the school target is vernáculo or língua vernácula (Cf. Parecer 4.031/75, p. 46).

pointed to the reality of a language continuum.

These assumptions are also present in this work. Here I attempt to pursue the same line of research, but with a new insight. In 1973 I described some of the trends observable in BP as language drift, as referred to by Sapir. Now I try to distinguish between 'standard' and 'vernacular' as languages in contact. As I do so, I look at a wide range of BP varieties and carry out field research in standard-type as well as in vernacular-type situations. My purpose is to pin down their defining features and raise hypotheses as to their social significance.

In the course of this work I shall be looking at syntactic variation in the negation and pronoun systems. There are three main reasons why I have chosen to work on these two systems. In the first place, both systems show a high degree of variation along the formality dimension, with clear-cut social markers and well-established prestige forms. Secondly, in both cases one can single out linguistic features which are not encountered in parts of the country with a substantially different historical background. From this vantage point, one can resort to extralinguistic factors as a source of relevant secondary information. Thirdly, in the case of negation, much work has been done elsewhere in connection with Black English and creoles, and it seemed worthwhile to look for further evidence in the language of an area which has a similar socio-historical background. The personal pronoun system, in its turn, has also been subjected to extensive analysis and a lot has been said about their pidginized forms.

As I have just suggested, this work is focussed on a variety of Portuguese (PTG) in which the African contribution can hardly be overlooked: that used in the State of Espírito Santo (ES). Perhaps I should add, for the benefit of those not familiar with Brazil, that ES state is, so to speak, both geographically and historically, the turning point between the north and the south of the country. In fact, in brief informal interviews with Southern Brazilians it turned out that there are syntactic features which, though common in Espírito Santo, are not particularly familiar to southerners. One of them is the double-não construction (Cf. p. 59) Informants from the south regard it as characteristic of the speech of Brazilians from the north.

In addition, the double-não construction as well as some typical cases of Brazilian pronoun use were not fully endorsed by informants from Portugal. Curiously enough, the Portuguese informants agreed that such linguistic forms are often heard in the mouths of Portuguese-speaking African immigrants in Portugal. Obviously, I have not pursued this line of investigation, but it looks as though it is an attractive track to follow up.²

Now, if Rio de Janeiro is left out of the picture for its obvious uniqueness³, one can say that the south of Brazil was settled mainly by Europeans, while the Africans were sent mostly to the north⁴, that is, from Espírito Santo northwards. Surely this is an over-simplified

2. This point is further debated on page 59.

3. Ex-capital, present cultural capital, and a cosmopolitan city.

4. The Indians are not taken into account, nor are the nuclei of European immigrants in the north (E.g. E.S.).

statement, but I believe that, if looked into in depth, it is evidence which ought not to be neglected.

The question is then: is BP (and more particularly ES Portuguese or ESP), in its present form, a language derived from an original African-based Portuguese creole? At this point it is perhaps appropriate to carry on a review of studies dealing with the Portuguese creole issue.

1.1 STUDIES IN PIDGINS AND CREOLES: A REVIEW

1.1.1 Rêvah (1963).

Let us start by looking at the ideas put forward by Rêvah (1963) as he states his case in favour of the non-creole origin of BP.

Rêvah suggests that the Brazilian situation is one brought about by imperfect learning of the language of the colonizers, due to the unfavourable social conditions of the time. In other words, according to him it was the absence of formal education in 16th century Brazil ('colônia de analfabetos'⁵ in his quotation of Prado Junior) rather than any developments from an African or Amerindian substratum, that triggered off the structural changes observable in BP. He admits, following Carvalho, that linguistic change can be accelerated through contact between different linguistic systems, and this is as far as he can get in his assessment of the problem.

As we see, it is on the score of learning conditions in colonial times that Rêvah dismisses the creole hypothesis altogether.

5. (Colony of illiterates). See Rêvah (1963 : 449).

However, to my mind this is a crucial point. If by imperfect learning one still means learning, however primitive and unconventional the circumstances may be, then one has no difficulty in accepting his arguments concerning the cause and effect relationship between language learning conditions and the linguistic output. Obviously, had the dominating classes set about the task of bringing their servants' linguistic performance up to their standards, the end product would perforce have differed in form, though not in kind. In other words, diverse social conditions are bound to produce differing linguistic results. Surely one can hardly overestimate the corrective and even repressive role of the school in any language contact situation in which one is the language of the master and the other is that of the slave. Therefore, we should not be too impressed by R  vah's creole/imperfect learning opposition. Rather we should look into the processes by which such changes take place in the creole language learning situation so as to find out what similarities there exist between this and other language learning processes. We can then hope to have a clearer insight into the phenomena involved in language learning at large. What I mean to say is that, while R  vah's arguments were centred around the diversification of the creole languages - opposing it to what he referred to as "l'uniformit   remarquable des parlers populaires br  siliens" (R  vah, 1963 : 449) - linguistic research today is more concerned with the similarities underlying even apparently different systems.

We notice then that R  vah's position calls for the necessity of isolating the substrata and getting the fullest possible description of them, so that any substratum features present in the mixed creole systems might be detected. Important though the substratum theory

might be, we are more keen to investigate the influence of the creole learning conditions upon the resulting linguistic systems and perhaps discover what they have in common with other language learning situations. In fact Rēvah says that none of the dialectological studies in Brazil have attempted to retrieve the substrata systems, a task which he deems impossible.

Whether or not the BP substrata have definitely produced an originally creole language or to what extent their impact can be said to have been felt by the target does not concern us here. However, whatever traces that may have existed of the African/Portuguese contact in Brazil will certainly be harder to extract today than it was in the past, due to the undeniable effect of formal education. The possibility for comparative study open to investigators by the findings put out by recent creole studies - and not available at the time when Rēvah put forward his ideas - is, no doubt, an encouraging prospect. I wonder whether it would not be worthwhile for linguistic research in Brazil to develop a slant towards creole studies.

Let us now try and give Rēvah's case a more objective treatment. I suggest that we start off by rephrasing the title question of his paper so as to allow for a wider range of language uses to be brought in and thus place the problem in its correct historic perspective: 'Is BP a post-creole continuum?'

Rēvah uses as a basis for his argumentation the phonetic and morphological changes pointed out by Silva Neto in his Introdução ao estudo

da língua portuguesa no Brasil (1951). According to Rēvah, some of the questions raised by Silva Neto are: (1) the deletion of word-final consonants; (2) the dropping of the plural ending represented by (s) (by which closed syllables are transformed into open syllables); and (3) the loss of person/number verb endings, which has produced non-redundant constructions.⁶ He argues that in none of these cases is one entitled to infer an African basis, since they are instances of one and the same phenomenon, that is, a general tendency of the Ibero-Romance languages which Malmberg refers to as the tendency to favour everywhere the open syllable.

Within the scope of his paper Rēvah succeeds in proving that what appears to be a case of morpheme loss is but the manifestation of the same phonetic tendency observed by Malmberg (Cf. Rēvah, 1963 : 442). But he does not stop here. To strengthen his argument even further, he goes on to remind the reader of other language communities in which morpheme loss is a widespread phenomenon. And he adds that they are under no suspicion of having had an African substratum.

I am not questioning the quality of Rēvah's linguistic argument, yet I do think that his weakness lies in the limitations of his corpus and the consequent risk of embarking on an analysis which may lead to the wrong conclusions about the issue as a whole.

Rēvah does not make any direct inroads into syntax, thus leaving the area unchallenged. It is no wonder that he has kept himself away

6. I have picked these three features because it is particularly to them that Rēvah resorts to make his point.

from syntax, since this is an area that has only recently been touched by studies in variation.

1.1.2 Valkhoff (1966)

This is a lengthy study of the creole of St. Thomas, Príncipe and Annobón. In the chapter on phonology Valkhoff describes the vowel and the consonant systems and makes a few comments on the problems of accentuation. Throughout his study, one is confronted with linguistic references that might well have been applied to the phonology of BP (e.g. the (r) ~ (l) alternation, the dropping of word-final (r), the raising of word-final unstressed vowels, the predominance of paroxytones, and the palatalization of consonants before palatalized vowels, as in (ti) ~ (tʃi)) (Cf. Valkhoff, 1966 : 90). (Perhaps it is worth pointing out, in passing, that the depalatalization referred to by Valkhoff and exemplified in words like (ʃa'pɛw) ~ (sa'pɛ) 'hat' is a typical feature of child speech in Brazil). As concerns the open syllable issue, Valkhoff says that 'St. Thomas and Annobón, more particularly than Príncipe, tend to open their syllables and to create vocalic endings'. Shortly after, he concludes that 'the two tendencies... are common to the Bantu languages and must have been inherited from them' (Valkhoff, 1966 : 92). This, of course, poses a challenge to Révah's position.

In his grammatical reflections, on the other hand, Valkhoff shows what he assumes to be traces of an African substratum in a fairly lengthy description of the creole grammar. I shall refer to it in detail when I take up the analysis of the data gathered for this study. I

hope then to be able to uncover some points of convergency between his data and my own. Meanwhile, I will just quote one of his statements about the dialects spoken in the interior of Brazil: 'There is no doubt in my mind that these are the remnants of the ancient lingua franca ...' (Valkhoff, 1966 : 66).

Judging from Révah's and Valkhoff's approaches, we can conclude that linguistic arguments per se may end in a deadlock. At this point it may be worthwhile to look at Naro's study of pidginization.

1.1.3 Naro (1978)

In this study Naro assumes that at the very origin of Pidgin Portuguese there is a form of language that he proposes to call 'reconnaissance language' (Naro, 1978 : 320). He arrives at this conclusion after a careful study in secondary sources of the conditions attending the formation and spread of Pidgin Portuguese, in Europe and West Africa respectively. His investigation prompted him to say that 'nearly all the modern Portuguese-based creoles have reflexes of the properties established (above) for the reconnaissance language' (Naro, 1978 : 333). Some of the properties that he points out are (1) the lack of phonologically bound inflections; (2) the loss of the bound plural marker, and (3) the use of fully-stressed pronominal forms for all syntactic cases. He also attempts to show that the 'reconnaissance language' was used by both African and Europeans, but that the latter did not indulge in phonological deviations from the norm, 'while Africans are nearly always portrayed as speaking with many non-standard phonological features' (Naro, 1978 : 327). Interestingly enough, it is precisely in phonology that Black speakers living in the north of ES

show the most striking features of their vernacular. Observations made in recent fieldwork give evidence that the linguistic contrast between urban and rural ES can best be accounted for in phonological rather than in morpho-syntactic terms.

The linguistic features indicated so far as most typical of the 'reconnaissance language' and ultimately of pidgins and creoles are present in most varieties of BP. Two of them will be discussed in the course of this work: (1) the replacement of weakly-stressed by fully-stressed pronominal forms, referred to by Naro as typical of the 'reconnaissance language' and ultimately of pidgins, and (2) the use of negation which, in its turn, is amply discussed by Valkhoff.

Révah does not make any reference to these two questions when he attempts to prove that BP does not have any creole commitments.

Thus, the area remains open and we shall eventually plunge into it in an attempt to describe these two linguistic systems as 'hierarchized' continua, to use Naro's word (Naro, 1978 : 323), and place them within a post-creole perspective.

1.2 THE LECTAL CONTINUUM

The negation and pronoun systems will be treated in this work as two parallel continua and BP will be approached as a post-creole dynamic system. The assumptions underlying this approach are that a post-creole continuum is a dynamic system, characterized by constant restructuring towards a norm acknowledged by the community (see Corder, 1977 : 15). According to these assumptions, the language varieties

resulting from such restructuring do not differ from one another along a complexity dimension, since restructuring does not necessarily imply becoming more or less complex. In the case in point, it seems that when a variety approximates the norm and consequently the distance between the two is progressively shortened, it retains its degree of complexity. Corder points out that this type of continuum contrasts with the interlanguage continuum and others in that the latter vary along a vertical dimension, as they move up or down a scale of complexity, while the former varies across this scale, i.e. it displays a horizontal pattern of variation. He then proposes that the second set of continua be regarded as developmental, involving recreation, as opposed to the non-developmental ones, comprising post-creoles and other socially defined varieties, which are the products of restructuring. We shall call the varieties produced by this shifting movement 'lects', and the system in which they operate a 'lectal continuum', after Bailey (1973a : 162 and 1973b : 11). The term 'lect' is to be used of a language variety arrived at through the analysis of linguistic rather than geographical patterning. Bickerton (1971 : 459-460) believes that this model of analysis should be based on the individual's output rather than on an assumed group norm (see also Labov, 1976 : 110-121).

The replacement of 'dialect' by 'lect' is not simply a terminological trick. It carries a new view of the notion of intelligibility between lects, i.e. the lectal continuum is viewed as a sequence of lects which relate to one another implicationally. Consequently, the degrees of intelligibility between any two lects are not alike. Intelligibility is then treated along a scale, and the obvious result is that speakers of lects where a certain rule has already operated

will show a greater degree of mutual intelligibility than those whose lects do not share the same rule. Unintelligibility will then be treated as the outcome of cumulative minimal differences between adjacent lects. For ease of analysis, we shall follow Bickerton in segmenting the continuum (or continua) in three hierarchized sections, which will be labelled as 'basilect', 'mesolect' and 'acrolect' (For earlier uses of these terms, see Bickerton, 1975 : 24, footnote 1).

However, for reasons that will be clarified later, in the case of BP it appears that the reference-norm of which Corder speaks (1977 : 15) does not coincide entirely with the standard norm in its most acrolectal manifestations. This has led us to set up as the neutral, unmarked norm the so-called 'mesolect'.

As mentioned earlier, this investigation has as its main motivating force the search for a solution for the language teaching problems in Brazil, more particularly in the State of ES. This is an issue which has received a fair amount of attention from the educational authorities but which is still a big challenge, as we shall see in the following pages.

1.3 PORTUGUESE TEACHING IN BRAZIL: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A number of official documents issued by the Government in recent years reveal that Brazilian language teachers and educationists are unanimous in asserting the poor standards of language teaching in Brazil, particularly and primarily the teaching of Portuguese. They claim that the 'natural' language of Brazil has been 'corrupted' through the introduction of grammatical 'incorrections' and slang,

and call for the restoration of the 'national' language (see Parecer, 1975 : 43). Although there is no watertight definition of SP, there is a general consensus that it is the language variety which appears in literary texts and in writing in general.

As we see, the failure of the educational system to curb the so-called corrupting action of the vernacular is officially acknowledged. The measures proposed for the solution of the teaching problem thus defined was that stricter grammatical discipline be exercised, and norms and regulations laid down for the control of mass media and publishers, in order to set the 'pure' language free from incoming 'impurities'. In other words, a typically normative solution that rests on prejudice rather than on any objective definition of purity or on choice of alternative teaching policies. The idea still seems to linger that an Academy has an important contribution to make for the preservation of a language.

Later in the same Report (Parecer, 1975) we read that prizes and awards for good language performance should be set up to encourage students to improve their verbal expression. In order to provide stronger support for his case, the author of this Report stresses the importance of such grammatical principles as agreement and government, which he regards as requirements of logical thinking.

However, it is only fair to point out that in more advanced quarters (see Guias Curriculares, 1976) scientific solutions have been sought and a committee set up for the study of this problem came up with quite different conclusions. In Guias Curriculares, one reads that

apart from the lack of a scientifically based teaching programme, one of the causes for the failure of Portuguese teaching is the conflict between the pupil's language and the language target put up by the school (Guias Curriculares, 1976 : 3).

This linguistic duality is referred to in another document which discusses the relevance of a project whose aim was to identify the linguistic systems operating in the so-called BP norma culta ('cultivated norm'). The reference contains a criticism of the 'purist tradition', which has led to a stress on a language which for a long time has not been actually spoken by Brazilians. The author of this Report (Parecer, 1974) states that the coexistence of the two languages in the school has brought about considerable trouble and undesirable results. And he adds:

Conquanto se trate de fato conhecido e repetido,
a partir dos anos 20, até hoje, essa tomada de
consciência não levou a resultados concretos (p. 33)⁷

The latter Report echoes rather closely the position held by the supporters of the difference theory. The basic postulates of this theory are that the failure of ethnically or socially disadvantaged children (e.g. Black students in the United States, immigrant children in Britain, underprivileged pupils in Brazil) in coping with the amount of instruction imparted to them in the school is not to be traced to any mental deficiency on their part, as the deficit supporters would have it, but to a gap in communication brought about by their different linguistic background (see Criper and Davies, 1974 : 1).

7. (Although this is a well known fact which has been repeatedly brought out since the 20s, up to now this awareness has not led to any concrete results.)

The bridging of this gap is, of course, no easy task. In this study I attempt to make a first move towards the identification of the linguistic forms which (1) are widely used by standard and non-standard speakers and (2) enjoy a considerable degree of social acceptance, and yet have not thus far gained the approval of the school. I do so through the administration of a subjective attitude test, the results of which are then mapped on to the data gathered in recordings and participant observation. In the next chapters the reader will be brought into contact with the manner in which the data was gathered, processed and analysed.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

2.1 PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

The analysis that follows is based on an extensive corpus of data which was collected in fieldwork carried out in two stages.

Collecting procedures include recording, participant observation, subjective attitude tests and, to a lesser extent, elicitation by means of interviews. Apart from this, a fair amount of written data has been incorporated, ranging from pre-modern literary Portuguese to personal letters. The written material is further enriched by samples drawn from two versions of the New Testament, a standard and a modern one. The latter represents an attempt on the part of the translators at rendering the text in the language spoken in Brazil today.

The first stage in the collection of data led to a preliminary analysis in which a body of hypotheses were suggested as to the linguistic characteristics of the negation and the personal pronoun systems¹ in BP, as well as their sociolinguistic significance. At that stage, I drew heavily on introspection as a supplementary source of information. Thus, the hypotheses then set up were based both on the data collected on my behalf in Brazil as well as on my own linguistic intuitions. The latter do not, however, appear in the final corpus.

Once some basic assumptions were established as to the operation of the negation and pronoun systems, testing was in order. This was done in fieldwork carried out by myself and covering a wide range of speech situations and language uses.

1. Possessive pronouns are also included.

As one of the main purposes of this study is to give an account of linguistic variation in BP, the data assembled in both stages of the investigation were gathered with a view to incorporating, rather than leaving out, extralinguistic variables. This can be seen from the account below, in which social dimensions such as age, socio-economic status, educational background, sex and ethnic origin are all brought into play along with the different contexts of use, such as the home, the school, the Court of Justice, the State Assembly and a Government Minister's public address. In both cases the clear aim was to put on record each speaker's linguistic repertoire. However, this goal soon proved too idealistic in practice and unattainable in theory, since one can never be sure that such a repertoire has been fully observed. Besides, there is no way that one could prove that there is a limit to it which cannot be unexpectedly overstepped.

2.2 THE PILOT STUDY

In the first field investigation, hereafter referred to as pilot work (PW), collecting procedures were restricted to tape recording, and speech contexts were always informal. Traces of formal speech were largely due to change in topic. Emphasis was then laid on variation from the speaker/listener's viewpoint (i.e. inherent variability as described in Labov, 1969, and Bickerton, 1973) rather than on context-motivated variation. At that stage attention was already focussed on a speaker's full linguistic repertoire, yet variation within this repertoire was left to accidental or deliberate change in topic. On the following page is a brief description of the pilot work.

1. Recording time: 300 hrs.
2. Number of informants: 15
3. Informants' characteristics:
 - 3.1 Age: ranging between 13 and 53 years.
 - 3.2 Educational background: ranging from secondary to University education. One informant has only primary education.
4. Speech styles: largely informal, although a few informants often shift to very formal styles.² Occasionally a wide range of styles is detected in the speech of a single informant. A fair amount of samples of spontaneous speech have been elicited, yet most of the recorded material betrays the informant's awareness of the recording situation.
5. Number of speech samples examined after transcription and selection of relevant features: 369 (selected out of a corpus of approximately 19,000 words).³

2.3 THE FIELDWORK

In the second and final phase of the investigation, hereafter referred to as fieldwork (FW), two other social variables gained prominence: speech context and ethnic origin. The latter was intended as a check on the occurrence of creole elements in the data. Considering that the negro was confined, in Brazil as elsewhere, to the rural areas, ethnic variation tends to be equated with the rural/urban dimension. This is precisely the connotation which the ethnic variable has taken on and it is under the label of 'rural' that Black

2. See Giles and Powersland (1975), on topic convergency.

3. Compare this figure with that reported for the second stage of the fieldwork. One must be aware of the fact that this total covers all the language material recorded, whether relevant or not, since my original transcription was a verbatim one. The second count, however, left out all irrelevant features.

Portuguese will be considered. This is not to say that rural and black are identical, but rather that black is contained in and has influenced rural. This is, of course, not a unique case. In fact, the BEV examined by Labov is an ethnic variety which was once a marker of rural Southern speech.

2.3.1 Scope and Size of the Corpus.

The corpus which resulted from the second phase of the fieldwork contains approximately 6,000 words, which are so distributed, according to the way in which they were collected:

1. Recorded	3,700
2. Extracted from written texts	...			1,900
3. Gathered in participant observation				400

2.3.1.1 Recorded data.

The recorded data were collected in typically informal and typically formal speech situations. The typically informal situations are represented in the corpus by surreptitious recordings of family chats and close friends' interactions. The typically formal ones are largely official government sessions, such as those held in the Court of Justice and in the State Assembly. These are situations in which speakers make an effort to address one another in a kind of discourse only suitable for formal meetings. They reach at times heights of formality.

My interest in gathering data from neatly defined domains arises from (1) the need to define 'linguistically formal/informal' without incurring circularity, and (2) the failure of other devices such as topic switching or emotional stimuli to lead speakers to unconscious shifting along the formality scale. True, in the concluding chapter, I do linger on the significance of the type of social mobility that characterizes the ES society, but my purpose then was to correlate linguistic with social trends.

In the early stages of this investigation, I also attempted to single out a few informants of different social and educational backgrounds and look at the full linguistic repertoire of each. However, this was not a successful attempt, and I ended up with just one test case.

As suggested earlier, extralinguistic variables were sought after rather than avoided, and the purpose of this deliberate random choice of language material was to make available a linguistic corpus in which the language pattern of variation will appear at its best. The data gathered was drawn from such diverse social locations as town, countryside, city periphery, different age groups and speakers with varying degrees of education and income. Therefore, the extralinguistic variables underlying the data are: location, social class, age, education and, to a certain extent, race.

In the course of the investigation, my attention was drawn to linguistic material that turned out to be a significant feature in this analysis on account of its relevance as a contrast element: this

was child language. Yet, the amount of material is such that one does not feel entitled to set it up as a major variable.

Perhaps it should be made clear, at this juncture, that the social variables implied in the data will not be handled in this study after the fashion of the quantitative paradigm, i.e. they will not be taken up as criteria for setting up social groups, since we are not looking for group norms. Admittedly, social class has not stood entirely outside our concerns, and respondents to the subjective attitude test have, in fact, been classified on the basis of the information they provided as to parents' or own occupation and income. However, they have been treated as individuals in a socially mixed group. The linguistic pattern of variation then observed was first analyzed in its own right, without recourse to the social background of the informant.

2.3.1.2 Written data

The search for variant forms in the standard language has extended the scope of this investigation to the domains of the written language. The corpus was then expanded by the addition of samples drawn from such a wide variety of sources as modern and pre-modern literary texts, newspapers, personal letters and even the New Testament in its standard and modern versions. The latter comes in as a check on the subjective attitude test administered earlier. From the very start I had the intention of looking at the shape taken on by the New Testament text as it was rendered in what was claimed to be a language variety used by ordinary people. But it was not until the

results of the tests were known that a contrastive analysis of the two variant texts stood out as an important tool for further assessment of sociolinguistic consensus. The text was prepared by a team of language experts working for the Bible Society of Brazil. Therefore it represents a consensus of opinion on which linguistic forms were thought to be current and accessible to the general public and which were deemed too lacking in social acceptance to be granted admission into a written text. In the Preface to the modern version one reads:

A linguagem é, tanto quanto possível, a que o povo fala. Por isso pode-se afirmar que esta tradução é na linguagem de hoje. Ela procurou ser fiel à língua do povo ...⁴

The standard version, on the other hand, is the old-fashioned Brazilian adaptation of a Portuguese translation which, nevertheless, is presented as 'revista e corrigida'.⁵

As we have seen, the written data is represented in the corpus by approximately 1,900 words, which brings the total number of words involved in fieldwork up to nearly 25,000.

2.3.1.3 Spoken data gathered in participant observation.

This refers to speech samples gathered in my personal contacts in the field, whether in person-to-person interaction or in meetings of various kinds. My purpose was to search for variants which I suspected were not to be spotted in the day-to-day uses of BP.

For the purposes of this work, this huge corpus has been restricted to the samples listed in the Appendix, from which the actual

4. (The language is, as much as possible, that spoken by the people. For this reason one can assert that this translation is in today's language. It sought to be faithful to the language of the people.)

5. (Revised and corrected.)

utterances cited in the body of the text have been taken. For ease of reference, the Appendix corpus has been classified and codified as shown below:

		Words	Utterances
Recorded Pilot Work II	(RPWII) ...	616	84
Recorded Pilot Work IV	(RPWIV) ...	44	6
Recorded Fieldwork I	(RFWI) ...	1044	129
Recorded Fieldwork II	(RFWII) ...	621	91
Recorded Fieldwork III	(RFWIII)...	806	137
Recorded Fieldwork IV	(RFWIV) ...	1025	175
Recorded Fieldwork V	(RFWV) ...	210	44
Written Language I	(WLI) ...	15	3
Written Language II	(WLII) ...	562	81
Written Language III	(WLIII) ...	61	6
Written Language IV	(WLIV) ...	327	27
Written Language V	(WLV) ...	809	107
Written Language VI	(WLVI) ...	73	12
Written Language VII	(WLVII) ...	12	2
Participant Observation I	(POI) ...	92	8
Participant Observation II	(POII) ...	114	21
Participant Observation III	(POIII) ...	20	4
Participant Observation IV	(POIV) ...	<u>144</u>	<u>30</u>
Total		6595	967

The rank ordered Roman numerals stand for the hierarchized social uses of the language, as indicated in the following coding system:

For speech:

I	Educated formal
II	Educated informal (urban)
III	Uneducated urban
IV	Rural
V	Child

For written texts:

- | | |
|------|---------------------------------|
| I | Pre-modern |
| II | New Testament: standard version |
| III. | Literary |
| IV | Mass media |
| V | New Testament: modern version |
| VI | Student composition |
| VII | Personal letters |

2.4 THE SUBJECTIVE ATTITUDE TEST

The ultimate goal of this study is to identify the linguistic forms which are undergoing social reevaluation and emerging as socially accepted. For the purposes of checking actual behaviour against social attitudes, I set up an experiment by which I attempted to elicit responses as to the social acceptability of the variants that turned up in the pilot analysis. The experiment, which assumed the format of a questionnaire (see Appendix), was eventually expanded to cover such questions as grammaticality and semantic interpretation, as we shall see (Cf. pp. 208 to 220). Although these questions have apparently little bearing on the basic issues involved in this study, they play a significant role in the analysis. In fact, thanks to the results obtained for grammaticality and semantic content, we can claim that the lectal systems generated by the analysis are backed up by sound linguistic testing - not simply a data-bound device based on chance occurrences of linguistic features.

Another feature of the questionnaire is the test on lectal congruence. The aim of the test was to qualify the concept of 'lectal mixture' by setting apart 'lectal switch' and 'lectal shift', and thus to contribute to lectal characterization.

The experiment as a whole was intended as a measure of the adequacy of the spontaneous language material (both spoken and written) gathered in the field to display the pattern of variation characteristic of the negation and pronoun systems. I also checked the power of these systems to explain the nature of dynamic variation in BP.

As will be shown later, the speakers' spontaneous production is not systematically matched by the respondents' judgements as they appear in the experiment, and this mismatch has served as a clue to linguistic phenomena which would not be apparent otherwise.

The final version of the questionnaire was obtained after a number of pre-trials, both in and out of the field, as one can see from the following:

1. Edinburgh trial:	7 respondents	⁶
2. Vitória pilot trial:	5	"
3. Vitória secondary school trial:	40	"
4. Final trial:	48	"

As with the spontaneous data, I attempted to administer the questionnaire to a socially diverse group of informants, so as to avoid a biased response.⁷ Unfortunately, due to time restrictions, I had to draw the bulk of the responses from groups to which I had easier access, such as school and University classes. These restrictions were aggravated

6. Amazingly enough, the seven respondents are all ESP speakers.

7. Each respondent was asked to supply personal data, such as age, career and parent's or own occupation.

by the length of the questionnaire and by irremovable obstacles such as the inaccessibility of the test to illiterate or semi-literate speakers. Nevertheless, even within the confines of the student's world, I tried to obtain a random sample by taking up a government school, where mixed social classes predominate. In the case of the University, I selected first year classes mainly, since they are made up of students heading for different careers and still performing courses in general studies. At that stage, withdrawals have not yet taken place. Rather, the so-called *élite*, which is expected to complete the University course and eventually get a degree, is still mingled with the potential drop-outs, and this makes for social differentiation in the group. I did, in fact, administer the test to a senior class of language students, but my purpose then was to expose literary forms to the analysis of linguistically sophisticated speakers.

In order to further make up for the shortcomings just referred to, I added to my group of respondents seven speakers with no group affiliation, three of whom have rather special characteristics: two could barely read, and one is a well established seventy-year-old language expert.

In its final version, the questionnaire was split into a large main test and an Appendix. Literary variants were shifted to the Appendix so that the main body of the test was entirely devoted to purely lectal variation. The main test consists of sixteen subsections and 330 items to which we shall turn in due course.

My original intention was to administer the attitude test to each member of a small group of representative speakers selected from the bulk of informants who supplied both the spoken and written data. I hoped then that I could avail myself of a fully comprehensive individual corpus. My aim was to compare individual repertoires and see how they related to one another. As this has proved to be utterly impossible, for reasons already mentioned (Cf. p.20), I have singled out the informant who supplied the most widely varied repertoire appearing in the recordings and drew from her a sample of written material as well as subjective judgements. This informant will be treated as a test case, and the corpus of data extracted from her will be looked at from the point of view of the lectal continuum.

Summing up, the total body of data, most of which was gathered on the spot, amounted to approximately 7,000 words, once all irrelevant material had been discarded from a gross corpus of 25,000 words. This corpus underwent analysis in two stages: in a pilot work and in a final (and main) analysis.

The pilot analysis led to tentative conclusions which were verified in the final analysis. Spoken material was collected mainly by means of recording and participant observation. Sampling from both spoken and written sources was carried out in such a way as to yield a comprehensive corpus. The final check on the validity of the results obtained by the pilot and the main analysis was the subjective attitude test, which provided an insight into the trends in the sociolinguistic norms.

CHAPTER 3: LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND INFORMATION.

NEGATION AND PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN PORTUGUESE : AN OVERVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION.

In this section I try to bring together the pre-modern and modern uses of negation and personal pronouns as they are reflected in past and recent grammar books. In so doing I expect to offer a background picture of the two linguistic systems and supply information which I shall eventually fall back on for new insights into the negation and pronoun continua. I hope that, by disclosing the history of these systems, I shall be paving the way to an unbiased assessment of the social value they carry today.

3.2 NEGATION IN PRE-MODERN PORTUGUESE

In 16th century Portuguese the use of the sentence negator non (in the present day language não) was obligatory in the environment of a preverbal negator, as one can see from the following samples:

- (1) ... nenhũu non deve brincar com alguen sen sua vontade. ("Fabulário", apud "Chrest. Arch.", p. 78, in Martins Sequeira, 1943 : 225)
'... no one not shall play with somebody without his/her will'.
- (2) Posto que nada nom vissem, (Zurara, C.P., 237, in Said Ali, 1966 : 199)
'Although nothing not they saw'.
- (3) Ay terra minha madre porque te nõ abres e colhe-me dentro que jamai nõ viva e este mundo? (Santo Amaro, 512, in Said Ali, 1966 : 200)
'O land my mother why you not open and take me inside (so) that (I) never not live in this world?'

In fact, Said Ali states that early Portuguese writers (and in this category he includes 15th century texts) employed double and even treble negation to reinforce the meaning of the utterance (Said Ali, 1966 : 199). Yet Rodrigues Lapa (1973 : 167) argues that as early as the 14th century writers began to avoid what he describes as pleonasms and to favour the replacement of morphemes carrying negative meaning by positive ones, provided that não was retained in its privileged preverbal position. As a result of this widespread practice, negative morphemes began to give way to their positive counterparts, as follows (Rodrigues Lapa, 1973 : 167):

- (4) Não hã nenhuma coisa de que sinta receio.
'Not there is none thing of which (I) feel fear'.
- (5) Não hã alguma coisa de que sinta receio.
'Not there is some thing of which (I) feel fear'.

Here is Lapa's 14th century sample, which is drawn from Orto do Esposo:

- (6) Nom lhe fazem algum embargo.
'Not (to) him (they) make some disturbance'.
('They do not disturb him').

This state of affairs leads one to infer that the practice of reinforcing negation by duplicating or even further multiplying its surface realization was accepted during earlier stages of Portuguese. However, an opposing trend soon gave rise to a new system which still survives simultaneously with the original one. The social acceptance of the two coexisting systems has undergone significant changes, as we shall see later.

3.2.1 Negation and Word Order.

The emergence of positive algum as a negative morpheme variant has yielded a grammatical system in which word order plays a decisive role. The interaction of negative meaning with word order has produced syntactic patterns which alternate with morphologically negative utterances within a neatly established continuum. The first signs of this interaction can be observed in the word order transformation which renders (5), above, as:

(7) Não há coisa alguma de que sinta receio,

in which the negative meaning of the sentence is partly realized by word order inversion, i.e. alguma coisa → coisa alguma. Nevertheless, the NP coisa alguma had a long time to wait before it could dispense with preverbal não and still express negative meaning. Below is a sample of 16th century Portuguese which is followed by an example quoted from a 20th century poet:

(8) Assi fomos abrindo aquelles mares
Que geração algũa não abriu.
(Lus. V, 4, in Martins Sequeira, 1943 : 227)

'Thus (we) went opening those seas
That generation some not opened'.

(9) Coisa alguma escapou.
(G. Dias, Poesias I, 125, in Sousa da Silveira,
1937 : 231).

'Thing some escaped'.
('Nothing escaped').

The semantic evolution undergone by morphemes such as algum does not seem to be atypical in Portuguese. A similar process can be observed if we look at the history of such historically non-negative morphemes as nada and jamaís. Once associated with preverbal não, nada and jamaís took on a negative meaning and eventually acquired full negative value, as shown on the next page (Cf. Sousa da Silveira, 1937):

Lat. (res) nata = PTG nada (p. 156):¹

- (10) Ele não fez nada ~ Ele nada fez ~ Ele fez nada.
'He not did nothing' 'He nothing did' 'He did nothing'.

Lat. iam magis = PTG jamais (Cf. Bello 1918 : 302)

- (11) Ele não voltará jamais ~ Ele jamais voltará.
'He not will-return ever' 'He never will-return'.

Interestingly enough, the autonomy reached by nada and jamais as fully developed negative morphemes and the resulting deletion of the sentence negator não have provided the appropriate conditions for the emergence of a sociolinguistic pattern, as will be demonstrated later.

It is also worth noticing that while the equivalent French words rien and jamais (to which personne can also be added) still co-occur with French ne in preverbal position,² their Portuguese counterparts have either dispensed with não altogether or assigned to it a specific social value. (For the deletion of French and PTG preverbal sentence negator, see p. 63.)

The behaviour of não and the historically positive morphemes will be dealt with at length in the next chapter. For the time being suffice it to say that modern grammarians (Cf. Bueno, 1944; Silveira, 1938; Bechara, 1976) are unanimous in asserting the positive meaning of alguem in prenominal position and its negative meaning when preceded by a noun. Not much is said about nada, ninguém, jamais³ and alguém,

1. Said Ali (1966 : 115) claims that nada is the participial form of nascer 'be born'. He derives (rem) nada from Lat. rem natam.
2. Rien ne remplace la champagne. Personne ne l'aime. Jamais homme ne fut plus admire.
3. A 20th century occurrence of jamais não (E entra no mundo que jamais não mente - Cf. WLI1:1) is regarded by Sousa da Silveira (1938) as imitation of earlier uses.

due perhaps to their straightforward behaviour. Lapa says that nenhum is popular whereas algum is literary (Rodrigues Lapa 1973 : 167). But to this we shall return later.

3.3 A HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF SOME PRONOUN FORMS

For the benefit of those not fully acquainted with Portuguese, I reproduce below a pronoun chart (Cf. Bechara, 1976 : 94-97) in which a full inventory of standard forms is laid on. This chart will serve as a reference chart, not as a descriptive account of the systems operating in ESP today. (See chart on following page.)

Considering that a similar treatment will be given to some of the possessive pronouns to that to be undergone by the personal pronouns, I have included them in the chart, to avoid unnecessarily setting up another morphological class.

As I shall be dealing with the alternation between object and subject pronoun forms or, in more general terms, fully-stressed and weakly-stressed forms, it will perhaps be instructive to investigate whether the processes at work in BP today have any echoes in the past history of Portuguese.

3.3.1 Historical Uses of Ele and Dele.

I am tackling ele and dele on the assumption that their behaviour will be either potentially or actually illustrative of what goes on in the other person categories.

TABLE 1. PRONOUNS

PERSONAL													POSSESSIVE	
<u>Person</u>	<u>Subject</u>		Object											
	Sing.	Pl.	D.O.		I.O.									
			Weakly-stressed		Weakly-stressed		Fully-stressed							
			Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.				
1st	eu	nós	me	nos		me	nos	(a)	mim	(a)	nos	meu	nosso	
2nd	tu	vós	te	vos		te	vos	(a)ti	(a)vós			teu	vosso	
3rd	ele	eles	o	os		lhe	lhes	(a)ele	(a)eles			seu	seus	

Notes:

1. I have left out the so-called reflexive pronoun se. The gender category is represented by the masculine form.
2. Você/você appear under 'Pronouns of address', yet no reference is made to the new paradigm initiated by the use of these two forms with a 2nd person referent.

3.3.2 Ele in Object Position.

Said Ali (1966), Dias (1970) and Bechara (1976) supply examples of the use of ele⁴ in object position. Said Ali states that before the 15th century Portuguese writers employed fully-stressed oblique forms as emphatic accusative (Said Ali, 1966 : 92). Therefore, emphasis seems to be a favourable environment for the selection of a stressed form:

- (12) Contando como cativaram elle e os outro oito.
(Zurara, Guiné, 190, Said Ali, 1966 : 94).

'Telling how (they) captivated he and the other-eight'.

Dias (1970) and Bechara (1976) hold positions similar to Said Ali's. They refer to the use of ele in object position as indicative of contrastive stress. Bechara indicates two more occurrences of ele, i.e. when it is preceded by todo 'all' or by the adjective sô 'only'. He claims that these are the only environments in which ele occurs as direct object in modern Portuguese (Cf. Bechara, 1976 : 254).

For a more realistic position we have to turn to Lacerda (1966). He states that the use of ele as a D.O. filler is 'uma particularidade de nossa fala que muito diverge da lusitana' (Lacerda, 1966 : 117)⁵. Lacerda quotes Nascentes, as he says that D.O. ele is one of the most characteristically Brazilian of all linguistic features. Then he goes on to say that it has already gained admission into literary texts, particularly those that purport to represent the language of the ordinary people.

4. Ele is here and elsewhere representing the full gender and number paradigm: ele, ela, eles, elas.

5. (A peculiarity of our speech which differs a lot from Luisitanian speech.)

Here are a few examples of D.O. ele in both pre-modern and modern

Portuguese:

- (13) Perdi ela que foy arrẽ milhor.
(D. Affo. Sanches, Vat., 21, in Dias, 1970 : 71)
'(I) lost she who was the thing best'.
- (14) Desque vi ela.
(Vasco Rodrigues de Calvelo, Vat. 585, in Dias, 1970 : 71)
'Since (I) saw she.
- (15) Olha ele!
(E. de Queirõs, ibid, in Bechara, 1976 : 254)
'Look (at) he!'

As can be seen from the reference chart, the person paradigms differ as to the distribution of fully-stressed and weakly-stressed forms.

One illustration of it is what happens in the 3rd and 1st persons (singular), i.e. the 3rd person I.O. fully-stressed form is identical with its subject counterpart, whereas the equivalent 1st person singular forms are different morphemes. Therefore, as shown in sentence 12, above, subjective elle will realize emphatic objective case, whereas in the case of the 1st person it is not subjective eu that realizes objective case, but mim, which is in fact the D.O. stressed form of the 1st person singular paradigm:

- (16) Segure mim e meus portos.
(Zurara, P. Men. 342, in Said Ali, 1966 : 94)
'Hold me and my harbours'.

This leads us to think that, historically, pronoun alternation in post-verbal position was resolved within the set of governed forms. It was not a subject/object alternation. The selection of eu in place of mim today somewhat changes the picture.

As for the 3rd person, the general opinion expressed in both old and modern grammars indicates that the determining factor in the emergence of dele in alternation with seu is the need for gender and number disambiguation. In dele the fully-stressed 3rd person pronoun ele (whether interpreted as originally a subject form or the object of a preposition) is present in elision with the preposition de (i.e. de + ele, which contributes to the final word the semantic content of possession. Dele was first used in co-occurrence with seu:

- (17) A sua honra dele ...
 (Eça de Queirós, "Os Maias", I, 251, in Silveira, 1937 : 205.
 'The his honour of he'.

Later on dele began to occur by itself, while seu still survived in the so-called ambiguous uses. In other words, the possessive pronoun set was increased by one form and the 3rd person developed a paradigm (i.e. dele, dela, deles, delas), which established a number and gender concord relationship with the possessor, not with the object possessed (e.g. seu(s) livro(s), sua(s) casa(s)). In the former set, grammatical redundancy is lost, while semantic distinctions are made explicit by disambiguation. In fact, Bechara (1976) approaches the seu/dele variable on semantic grounds alone. This may lead us into thinking that the two variants ought to be regarded as standing in a discrete relationship to one another. Were this the case, we would expect the speaker/listener to have a choice between a(+ ambiguous) and a(- ambiguous) utterance, in terms of the possessor. This would then be the only justification for the alternation.

In the next chapters I hope to be able to demonstrate that, to judge by the systems at work in the data, things do not look as simple as that.

Bechara also points out that seu is invariably used when the possessor appears in the utterance in the form of an indefinite pronoun (see Bechara, 1976 : 261). This is yet another point that will be checked against the evidence derived from the corpus.

PART II. THE PILOT STUDY

CHAPTER 1: NEGATION

1.1 INTRODUCTORY CONSIDERATIONS

The pilot analysis of the first body of data suggested that a distinction should be made between the role played by negators in preverbal and in postverbal position:

- (18) Ninguém nunca apareceu aqui.
'Nobody never appeared here'.
(19) Ele não deu nada a ninguém.
'He not gave nothing to nobody'.

Furthermore, the need was felt for discriminating between sequences of negators which are strung together and sequences which are made discontinuous by the insertion of V. I have chosen to call the former 'continuous strings' and the latter 'discontinuous strings'. The two sequences are exemplified below:

Continuous:

- (20) Ele não disse nunca nada a ninguém.
'He not said never nothing to nobody'.
(21) Ninguém nunca nem se incomodou.
'Nobody never not-even bothered'.

Discontinuous:

- (22) Ninguém disse nada.
'Nobody said nothing'.
(23) Ele não disse nada.
'He not said nothing'.

These specifications were prompted by the different constraints imposed on the sequences by the three environments just exemplified, i.e. preverbal, over-verb and postverbal.

1.1.1 Negative Morpheme Sequences

At first it appeared that the emergency of syntactic negators in a string either before or after the verb was not a random process but rather a patterned sequencing¹ with repercussions on the aesthetic component of the language. The first principle that emerged was that the occurrence of a syntactically negative NP required that all negators to the right were equally syntactic, i.e. Ele não fez coisa alguma a pessoa alguma, 'He not did thing some to person some', would be favoured over Ele não fez coisa alguma a ninguém, 'He not did thing some to nobody'. However, I soon felt that the position of the string in relation to the verb was relevant for the interaction of morphological and syntactic negation. It looked as though the principle just cited affected only the preverbal strings, and therefore that the state of affairs on the right-hand side of the verb was to be left to chance or to be dealt with in the domains of stylistics. Obviously, this insight served to awaken interest in the events taking place to the left of the verb, and this is one of the reasons why it is to that environment that our focus of attention will constantly be shifted.

1. Compare with BEV. Cf. Labov (1977 : 148).

Though negator sequences are not central to this work and will not therefore be taken up as a major issue, their consideration at this stage is an important step to the establishment of two very fundamental concepts: concord and redundancy.

1.1.2 Negative Concord.

By negative concord I mean the obligatory co-occurrence of a negator (NEG) before and after the verb (V). Obviously, there is nothing new in this formulation of the processes involving an over-V string. In fact, we owe it to Labov (1977), who deals with it in his study of negative attraction and negative concord. In his study Labov places negative concord under the general heading of negative transfer rules (Labov, 1977.: 145). Yet his idea of concord, in this particular case, is far more comprehensive than what I would like to suggest. His structural analysis is carried further than the surface structure constituents of the utterances he handles would have permitted. It is within this more complex framework that he extends the concept of negative concord to cover such relations as Subject (Subj)/Complement (Compl), Subj/V and V/Compl. My approach is rather less sophisticated, hence the need to redefine negative concord for the purposes of this work.

I have approached concord as a surface structure phenomenon. Therefore, for concord to realize itself, there is a requirement that two overt negative sentence constituents will occur. However, this is still a broad concept, as it would apply to two different types of utterances.

(24) Ninguém fez nada.
'Nobody did nothing'.

(25) Ele não fez nada
'He not did nothing'.

This is where further qualification imposes itself. In order not to allow this investigation to grow out of hand, I have imposed a restriction on the first element of concord, i.e. the preverbal negator: it must be não. Thus, from now on negative concord will be understood as NAO + V + NEG,² as illustrated by (25), above, and the focus of this analysis is consequently defined as centred on variant surface realizations of that construction, hereafter referred to as concord utterances.

1.1.3 Negative Redundancy.

One of Labov's cases of negative concord is that which results from the appearance of negatives in 'the usual preverbal slot' (Labov, 1977 : 148). One of the examples he gives is:

'Nobody don't like a boss hardly' (Labov, 1977 : 148).

Earlier on he constructs a whole paragraph in which eleven negatives in the surface structure realize one single negative in the deep structure. The eleven surface negators are described by him as pleonastic (Labov, 1977 : 147).

2. Negative morphemes other than não will now be represented by NEG, while NAO will always appear in block capitals.

Now, according to Labov, while negative concord in BEV is not optional (Labov, 1977 : 180), concord to the preverbal position is not allowed in many non-standard dialects. In fact, he brings up Jespersen's idea that 'Negation is typically cumulative, not multiplicative' and that the normal pattern for most languages is that illustrated by 'I don't owe you nothin'!!' (Labov, 1977 : 177).

Labov's analysis echoes quite closely the operation of negation in PTG, i.e. in the PTG system NEG + V + NEG and NEG + NEG + V also trigger off dissimilar reactions. The difference between Labov's and my analysis is a qualitative one. His analysis shows that subj/V or V/Compl concord is variable in most dialects of English, though categorical in BEV, and that concord to preverbal position is never obligatory, not even in BEV. In PTG, negative concord (and I am here using the concept in its Labovian formulation) is categorical in all lects, while the NEG + NEG + V type of construction is heavily stigmatized.

Labov discusses at length the unique nature of what he calls negative attraction, that is, the expansion of the negative from the verb to the subject, and concludes that this process is fundamentally different from that in which negation expands rightwards. On page 176 he says that:

we have no choice but to regard NEGATTRAC as an entirely different rule from the rightward movements of the negative particle (Labov, 1977).

He further clarifies his position by referring to the constraints operating on NEGATTRAC as involving 'abstract conceptual features with unexpected reversals of meaning'.

This seems to me a very enlightening point. In my analysis, I have found that NEG-Subj + NÃO must be treated in a different way from NÃO + V + NEG-Compl and my basic argument is that the former has semantic implications which are not present in the latter.

For the purposes of this work I have chosen to treat the NEG-Subj + NÃO construction as redundant, as opposed to the NÃO + V + NEG-Compl. one which, as we have seen, stands as concord.

Yet I soon suspected that NEG-Subj + NÃO was not the only case of negative redundancy in BP, and that the Pre-V constituent need not necessarily be Subj. I then replaced Subj-NEG + NÃO + V by NEG + NÃO + V, and included under redundancy constructions in which the first NEG is nunca 'never' and nem 'not even'.

Like in English, redundancy is socially rejected in PTG. However, this social rejection is not entirely uniform. Informants' reactions to the three types of utterances place them at three different levels of rejection, and this prompted me to establish three degrees of redundancy.

In view of the stigma affecting redundant utterances and considering that concord is socially unmarked, I have established concord as the unmarked feature of negation and redundancy as the defining feature of the socially stigmatized lects.

1.1.4 Negation Continuum.

All this comes in support of the position that holds that the negation system operates along a continuum ranging from a heavily redundant sub-system (or lect), associated with the working classes (and perhaps with a still surviving near-creole system) to a standard sub-system which, in certain cases, goes to the extreme of dispensing with negative morphemes altogether. Within these two extremes lie the various degrees of redundancy.

The data examined seem to support the original assumption that speakers of the most formal lects (hereafter referred to as 'acrolect') lean towards redundancy in casual speech just as speakers of the socially stigmatized lects (from now on subsumed under the term 'basilect') aim for less redundant constructions in their less informal uses. The area where the two types of negation overlap (the 'mesolect') is where the greatest amount of variation occurs, and this reveals the continuous nature of the system.

1.2 DATA SURVEY AND PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS.

1.2.1 The Sentence Negator NÃO and other Preverbal Negators.

The unmarked position of the PTG sentence negator NÃO in the utterance is preverbal.³ Similarly, the other sentence negators, nem and nunca, occur in preverbal position, although their privileges of occurrence are greater than that of NÃO. Along with these typically preverbal negators, we shall look at ninguẽm and (nenhum

3. V includes the copula and also VPs.

+ N)⁴ in their topical subject position.⁵ First of all we shall look at the ways in which NÃO interacts with the preverbals nem, nunca, ninguem⁶ and (nenhum + N):

1.2.1.1 The role of NÃO in continuous and discontinuous strings:

a) In continuous strings:

(26) Ele nem nÃo chegou aqui.⁷

'He not-even not arrived here'.

(27) Ele nunca nÃo chegou aqui.

'He never not arrived here'.

(28) NinguÃm nÃo chegou aqui.

'Nobody not arrived here'.

(29) Nenhum menino⁸ nÃo chegou aqui.

'No boy not arrived here'.

b) In discontinuous strings:

(30) Ele nÃo chegou nem aqui.⁹

'He not arrived not even here'.

4. Nenhum is masculine. Its feminine counterpart is nenhuma which, of course, displays the same pattern of behaviour as concerns the system under examination here, and will not for this reason be cited in the text. It will be represented by nenhum.

5. Sentence classes will be determined by their unmarked order.

6. NinguÃm represents other one-morpheme negative subjects such as nada.

7. Made up examples bear no reference code. They are supplied from introspection, though they are either data-based or strongly suggested by the analysis of the data. In this chapter the illustrations which are actually borne out by the corpus are usually replaced by simpler (or shorter) sentences.

8. Nenhum menino alternates with Menino nenhum yet they do not seem to be referentially identical. It is not my concern here, though, to deal with this problem. Therefore I shall handle only one of the variants and my choice will fall on the second.

9. It will be noted that this construction has a different semantic content from (26). Its inclusion has a purely syntactic significance.

- (31) Ele não chegou nunca aqui.¹⁰
 'He not arrived never here'.
 (32) Não chegou ninguém aqui.¹¹
 'Not arrived nobody here'.
 (33) Não chegou nenhum menino aqui.^{12.}
 'Not arrived no boy here'.

A third realization of the a and b utterances is:

c) In(-NÃO) constructions:

- (34) Ele nem chegou aqui.
 'He not even arrived here'.
 (35) Ele nunca chegou aqui.
 'He never arrived here'.
 (36) Ninguém chegou aqui.
 'Nobody arrived here'.
 (37) Nenhum menino chegou aqui.
 'No boy arrived here'.

The c utterances, as shown above, are single-negative constructions.

The reason why they have been incorporated in this study is twofold:

- (1) they are semantically identical with the a and b utterances; the sets of variant constructions would not, therefore, be complete without them; (2) they occupy a space of their own in the negation continuum, and this means that they carry a sociolinguistic value. It must also

10. I am not concerned here with positional preferences. An alternative order for nunca would be that seen in: Ele não chegou aqui nunca.

11. As a matter of interest, if ninguém is replaced by nada in this concord sentence, the sociolinguistic relationship between the resulting construction and its equivalent Nada chegou aqui is not the same as that linking (32) to Ninguém chegou aqui. See footnote 6.

12. The use of an intransitive verb is not accidental. Sentences (32) and (33) would be hard to handle had other verb classes been selected.

be said that they are illustrations of unmarked negation, therefore they are typically mesolectal. One is not to infer, though, that it is the absence of NÃO that gives them their mesolectal character, unless one is prepared to qualify one's assertion by specifying the nature of the absent NÃO. This problem will be taken up in full detail later on (Cf. p. 69). Meanwhile, we can tentatively establish three¹³ sets of variants brought about by the operation of two interacting variables: (+ preverbal) and (+ NÃO):

d) (38) Ele nunca nÃo chegou aqui.

(39) Ele nÃo chegou nunca aqui.

(40) Ele nunca chegou aqui.

e) (41) NinguÃm nÃo chegou aqui.

(42) NÃo chegou ninguÃm aqui.

(43) NinguÃm chegou aqui.

f) (44) Nenhum menino nÃo chegou.

(45) NÃo chegou nenhum menino aqui.

(46) Nenhum menino chegou aqui.

1.2.1.2 NÃO and word order:

The significance of word order for the full realization of the PTG negation system has already been mentioned (Cf. p. 30). The process by which order variants emerge are reminiscent of that presented by Labov, as he discusses the rule of negative inversion (e.g. 'Not until he came into United States did ... they decided to get married' (Cf. Labov, 1977 : 187))

13. The first utterance is here discarded, since the proposed variants do not qualify as such due to the meaning difference already referred to.

However, there are significant differences that must be pointed out:

1. Negative inversion in PTG is not restricted to sentence negators and adverbs. One of its outstanding features is D.O. preposing.
2. Preposing in PTG is a verb-related phenomenon. It does not necessarily involve fronting to the beginning of the utterance.
3. In PTG preposing leaves a trace in the surface structure of the utterance, i.e. the first element of concord is deleted (see below).

Now let us examine the behaviour of constructions which, unlike those under a, b and c, display mesolectal features in the variant that undergoes concord. These are utterances in which V is obligatorily transitive, D.O. is NEG and NÃO occurs in preverbal position, in concord with NEG-D.O.

(47) Ele nÃo fez nada.¹⁴

When the two variables mentioned earlier (+ preverbal and + NÃO) operate on (47), it assumes the following shape:

(48) Ele nada fez.¹⁵

14. Nada represents here the whole range of possibilities of occurrence of NEG morphemes in postverbal position.

15. Word order variants which do not interact with (+ NÃO) (e.g. Nada fez ele ~ Nada ele fez) are not considered here, for obvious reasons.

As we see, utterance (47) has undergone syntactic reordering but not without repercussions on its inventory of morphemes. In other words, the job done by NÃO in (47) is carried out in (48) by a syntactic device. This is, in fact, an illustration of the role of syntax in the PTG system of negation.

But it is not only at the predicate level that syntax contributes to the surface realization of negation. Most negative morphemes alternate with NPs in which the negative force is derived from word reordering.

E.g.:

(49) Ele nÃo fez coisa alguma.

'He not did thingsome'.

(50) Ele coisa alguma fez.

'He thing some did'.

If we examine the syntactic structure of (50), we shall notice that negation is there expressed by purely syntactic devices and negative morphemes do not make an appearance. In order to clarify the point, let us compare (50) with the following:

(51) Ele fez alguma coisa.

'He did some thing'.

In (51) the negative polarity contained in (50) is reversed. This effect is achieved by shifting the words around according to the established pattern. From now on we shall refer to the processes in operation in (50) as syntax-based negation, as opposed to morpheme-based negation, which is the case of (47). In (49) the two mechanisms interact

This syntax-based negation system is clearly a feature of the most formal lects (perhaps equivalent to what Labov describes as formal or literary negation, which also dispenses with the sentence negator 'not'. Cf. Labov 1977 : 135). It was found to be heavily marked even in semi-formal contexts, thus confirming my original assumption that syntax-based negation is the defining feature of a prestige variety rather confined to writing.

1.2.1.3 NÃO-deletion:

If we carry the word reordering principle a little further, we shall probably have to accommodate a construction in which the absence of NÃO does not entail preposing of NEG-D.O., as in (48).

(52) Ele fez nada.

By the same token, the sets of variants under d, e and f will be increased by the addition of the following parallel constructions:

(53) Ele chegou nunca aqui.

'He arrived never here'.

(54) Chegou ninguẽm aqui.

'Arrived nobody here'.

(55) Chegou nenhum menino aqui.

'Arrived no boy here'.

Let it be said at the outset, to avert possible misinterpretations, that if (52) is accepted as well-formed, it is ambiguous. The other meaning contained in it is this:

(56) Ele fez (o teste) nada.

'He did (the test) nothing',

in which nada is a modified copy of preverbal NÃO, and therefore entirely

dispensable, while NP (i.e. o teste) is deleted, though understood (in context, of course).

One might expect that, for the sake of symmetry, (48) should at some stage become redundant, like constructions (26) to (29), thus being rendered as:

(57) Ele nada não fez.

However, this sample has been found to be too deviant by informants¹⁶ and has not been listed as a possible variant. Nevertheless, it will be called upon later to show the effects of the presence of NÃO in various syntactic environments.

All things considered, we are left with four sets of variants, three of which contain four variants and one of which has three.

1.2.1.4 NÃO and negative adverbials

So far we have dealt with the behaviour of NÃO/nem/nunca, NEG-Subj and NEG-D.O. Yet the negative adverb NEG-ADV was also considered in the pilot study, and found to conform rather neatly to the syntactic patterns just displayed:

(58) Ele não foi a lugar nenhum.¹⁷

'He not went to place none'.

(59) Ele a lugar nenhum foi.

'He to place none went'.

(60) Ele foi a lugar nenhum.

'He went to place none'.

('He did not go anywhere').

16. Note, however, that the following construction is detected by Said Ali (1966:199) in Zurara, CP. 237: Posto que nada nom vissem 'Although (they) nothing not saw'.

17. The negative manner adverb de maneira nenhuma behaves in a similar fashion and for this reason will not be given a separate treatment.

Again it is construction (58) that is mesolectal. According to this hypothesis, then, the mesolect is characterized by (a) non-redundancy¹⁸ and (b) D.O. concord. Below is a comprehensive picture of the mesolect, as indicated by the utterances handled up to the present.

Typically mesolectal utterances:

- (61) Ele nem chegou aqui.
- (62) Ele nunca chegou aqui.
- (63) Ninguém chegou aqui.
- (64) Nenhum menino chegou aqui.
- (65) Ele não fez nada.
- (66) Ele não foi a lugar nenhum.

1.2.2 Morphologically Unmarked Negation

The reader will have noticed that the utterances so far handled express their negation component by means of morphemes which are both synchronically and diachronically inherently negative, i.e. they do not depend on syntactic devices or on linguistic context to express their negative meaning. Yet each one of them has developed an alternative form which is both diachronically and synchronically formally non-negative, or alternates with a formally non-negative NP (Cf. pp. 48, 49). For ease of exposition, I shall treat the latter alternants under the heading of syntactic variants.¹⁹

18. I do not have Ele nada fez in mind as a non-redundant construction for the simple fact that its supposedly 'redundant' counterpart (i.e. Ele nada não fez) is not in any way related to such sentences as Ninguém nao veio, which are typically redundant.

19. In fact, both sequer and jamais can be regarded as bimorphemic formations, if looked at from a historical viewpoint (Cf. Bello 1918 : 283/302).

1.2.2.1 Formally non-negative negators.

- i. Diachronically NON-NEG:
 - a) Sequer (~ nem)
 - b) Jamais (~ nunca)
- ii. Synchronically NON-NEG:
 - a) Alguém 'somebody' (~ ninguém 'nobody')

Two remarks are now in order, so as to clarify the idiosyncratic behaviour of some of the syntactic variants just listed:

1. Sequer and jamais have a syntactic behaviour identical with nem and nunca (except for the redundant construction):

(67) Ele não chegou jamais aqui.
'He not arrived never here'.

(68) Ele jamais chegou aqui. (Cf. (39) and (40).
'He never arrived here'.

2. Alguém will alternate with ninguém only in the environment of a preverbal negator:

(69) Olha não o digas a alguém (WL II - 17 : 1)
'Look (do) not tell it to somebody'
('See thou tell no man').²⁰

20. New Testament translations are quotations from the King James version of the Bible, in the case of WL II, and from the Good News New Testament for WL V (for complete reference, see Bibliography).

1.2.2.2 Syntax-based negators:

- i. Noun + algum(a): 'some' ~ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nenhum(a) 'none' + N} \\ \text{N + nenhum(a)} \end{array} \right\}$

Noun + algum(a) will perforce reverse the order of the morphologically marked nenhum + Noun, since it is from the transposition alone that it draws its negative force:

- (70) Menino algum chegou aqui.²¹
 'Boy some arrived here'.
 ('No boys have arrived here').

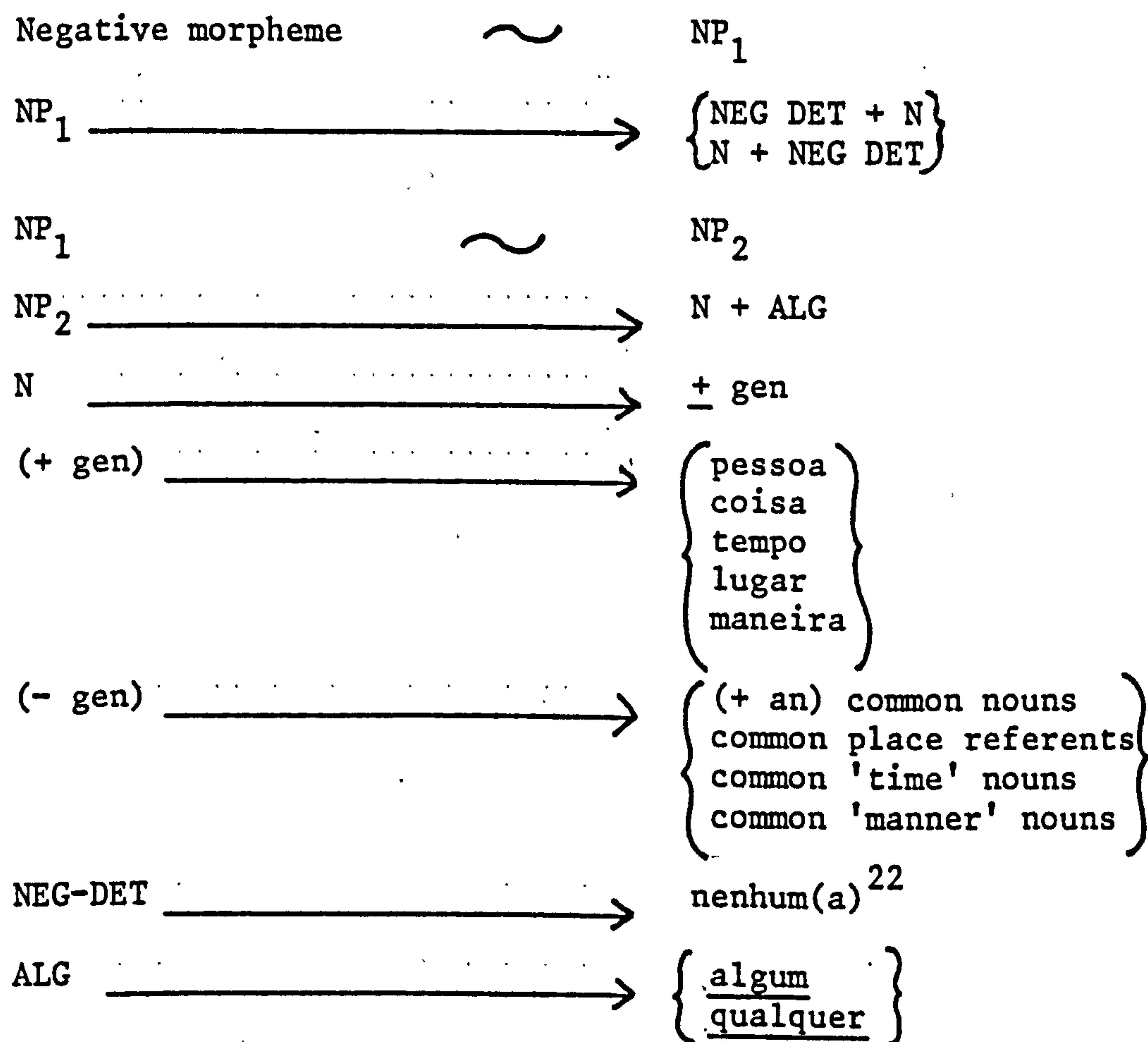
We may now take a closer look at the NP syntactically marked for negation, as it is in this connection that the interaction of word order with the negation system can be fully appreciated. I shall from now on call the syntactic variants ALG-forms because of the predominance of the root ALG in the positive morphemes that have entered the negation system. In contrast we shall call their morphological variants NEG's.

1.2.2.2.1 The negative NP:

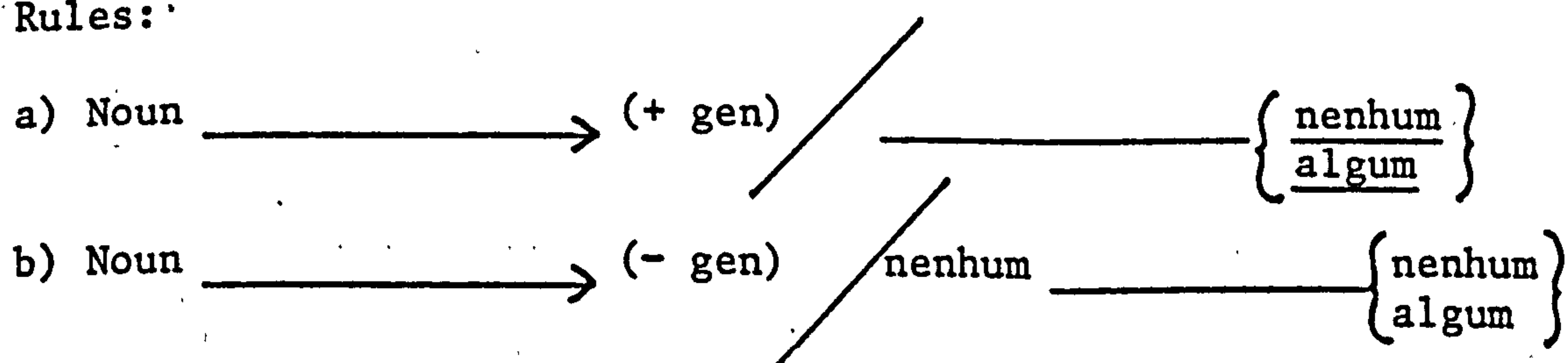
The positive morpheme algum, represented below by Determiner (= DET) (and its feminine counterpart alguma, but never their corresponding plural forms), appears in the syntactically marked negative NP in association with either a generic or a specific noun, and it can replace a (+ animate) or a (- animate) sentence component. The generic noun is coisa 'thing' for nouns with a (- animate) feature and pessoa 'person' (or, in earlier uses, homem 'man') for (+ animate) nouns. Here is a comprehensive formal account of the behaviour of ALG-forms in their negative function and as end-points in a chain of events that shows the alternation of NEG with

21. This construction makes for the convergency of nenhum menino and emphatic menino nenhum. I speculate here that intonation will probably take over as a (+ emphasis) marker.

ALG. The order in which the forms appear in this formal account will serve as a hypothesis as to the sociolinguistic hierarchy in which they are interrelated:



Rules:



22. Nenhum does not collocate with 'tempo', thus the time paradigm consists of three variants: nunca, jamais, em tempo algum.

1.2.2.2.2 ALG-forms:

As suggested above, ALG-forms may be immediately dominated by Subj, Predicate (Pred), or Adverbial (Adv1), as is the case with tempo algum 'time some', forma alguma 'manner some', lugar algum 'place some', which are therefore introduced by an adverbializer.

Early in the pilot study, ALG-forms appeared not only to have emphatic force but also to be more formal than their morphological variants, and perhaps entirely confined to writing (Cf. p. 50). This applies even more when they are in an utterance that has deleted NÃO and undergone a word order transformation. Thus, they were certainly not expected to occur in the mesolectal varieties of BP.

ALG-forms, like NEGs, also occur in collocation with preverbal NÃO (Cf. p. 49 and p. 53). When this is the case, the interaction of word order with NÃO produces a syntactic pattern similar to that observed in (47) and (48). I reproduce it here:

(47) Ele não fez nada.

(48) Ele nada fez.

(49) Ele não fez coisa alguma.

(50) Ele coisa alguma fez.

It is rather striking that, despite several alterations, (50) has retained the double negation which is seen in (47), though it appears in (50) under a different realization: a) D.O. is preposed; b) NEG is replaced by ALG. This may perhaps be seen as the materialization of a strong tendency for double negation in BP, which runs right through

from the basilect to the most acrolectal varieties. Utterances (49) and (50) bring the set of variants represented by NEG (S He did something) to five. Note further that NP₁ (see p. 55) combines with NÃO in the same fashion as NP₂, just described. This of course makes for a sixth variant. The adverbial sets likewise display this pattern, and for this reason they will be classed together with the concord sentences.

1.2.2.3 Variation patterns in the negation system:

We are now in a position to work out the overall pattern that binds together the concord sentences, be they of the NÃO/Subj, NÃO/obj or the NÃO/adv type. This overall pattern can be seen in Table 2 on the following page.

1.2.3 Lectal Congruence Within the Negation System.

Confirming early assumptions, the pilot study has revealed that linguistic acceptability is not merely a matter of morphological, syntactic and lexical ill-formedness at the utterance level. It should also comprise phenomena such as those brought about by the mixture of two or more lects either within the same utterance or affecting the structure of the discourse. In other words, an utterance which is otherwise well-formed will be rejected by native speakers if it contains features typical of non-adjacent lects. An example of this is:

- (71) Ele coisa alguma nÃo disse
'He thing some not said'
('he did not say anything'),

in which a stigmatized linguistic feature, i.e. redundant NÃO, co-occurs with coisa alguma, a feature typical of the more formal lects. Along

TABLE 2

NÃO/SUBJ				NÃO/NEG-TIME				NÃO/OBJ				NÃO/ADVL					
Single Morph	NP ₁	NP ₂	Single Morph	NP ₂	Single Morph	NP ₁	NP ₂	Manner	Place								

R = Redundancy

C = Concord

NP₁ = Nenhum + NNP₂ = N + algum

the same line, it was noticed that degrees of unacceptability due to

lack of lectal congruence parallel the degrees of distancing between the lects brought together; therefore constructions looked upon as the most deviant are those which combine the most distant lects, and the rejection that befalls them is as radical as that which rules out straightforward syntactically ungrammatical utterances.

1.2.4 The Sentence-Final NÃO.

1.2.4.1 In double-NÃO constructions:

Table 2 does not show one of the most outstanding features of the negation system in ESP, i.e. the double-NÃO construction. On page 3 I made a passing comment which needs clarification at this point. There I suggest that the double-NÃO construction may be uniquely Brazilian.

I would like to add now that Jucã (1937 : 73) supplies an example of double-NÃO drawn from the 16th century Portuguese epic Lusiãdas. However, he distinguishes between European and Brazilian usage by pointing out that while in Portugal the occurrence of a supplementary NÃO expresses reinforcement, in Brazil it is 'the norm'. Interestingly enough, the BP examples given by Jucã include both NÃO + verb + NÃO and negative + NÃO + verb constructions.

It must also be said that Carneiro Leão (1956) and Maciel (1914) supply examples of double-NÃO from Portuguese authors dating back to the 16th century. However, we are not in a position to state that the samples reported by them are actual occurrences of the construction we are discussing, due to lack of information on the relevant prosodic features. In fact, Maciel's sample has a comma separating the second NÃO from the

rest of the utterance. This is an indication that his utterance carries two intonation phrases and that the second NÃO results from ellipsis. Whether this is so or not, I would like to emphasize that the double-NÃO construction we are dealing with carries only one intonation phrase. Therefore, it should not be confused with the former.

Our double-NÃO construction is characteristic of a large number of BP varieties, ESP included. The reason why it was not incorporated in Table 1 is that it is a class of its own, bearing no structural relation with any of the classes set up around the (+ redundant) and (+ concord) parameters. I first thought that the second NÃO (e.g. Ele nÃo veio nÃo) was an emphasis carrier, and this coincides with the analysis proposed by traditional grammarians (Cf. Carneiro Leão, 1956 : 546 and Maciel, 1914 : 362). Yet gradually it began to pose a number of problems which have hitherto gone unnoticed. In my attempts at sorting out some of the problems I was led to the consideration of other constructions in which the second NÃO occurred, and which prompted some problems which I consider to be worth raising:

- a) The occurrence of NÃO in elliptical text sentences, as below.
(for information on text- as opposed to system-sentences, see Lyons, 1977 : 622-635).

(72) O problema é o cheiro, o gosto nÃo.

'The problem is the smell, the taste not!.'

(Cp. with: O problema é o cheiro, nÃo o gosto).

'The problem is the smell, not the taste'.

- b) The variable occurrence of NÃO at the close of a statement, as

opposed to categorical restriction in the environment of such constructions as adverbial, adjective and noun clauses²³.

d) Its categorical restriction:

- i. With some intonation contours.
- ii. At the end of any of a sequence of additive coordinate clauses in a narrative.²⁴

Although it is not the purpose of this work to seek solutions for the problems just raised, the presence of the second NÃO in the data is too remarkable to go entirely undiscussed. This question will be tackled again when we turn to the analysis, but then the unique character of the second NÃO will not be highlighted to satisfaction and I fear that many a sound hypothesis will be lost in the process. Such hypotheses may well have a bearing on the behaviour of the double-NÃO construction with which we are directly concerned.

The first observation to be made about the second NÃO is that it signals informality and is therefore associated with basi-mesolectal uses. However, the fact that it cuts across lectal boundaries and spans a considerable range of the lectal continuum indicates that it is neither a stigmatized form nor a prestigious one. While it is carefully avoided in the hyper-acrolectal varieties (Cf. p. 157), where styles freeze and casual forms are not allowed, it is a feature which runs steadily through

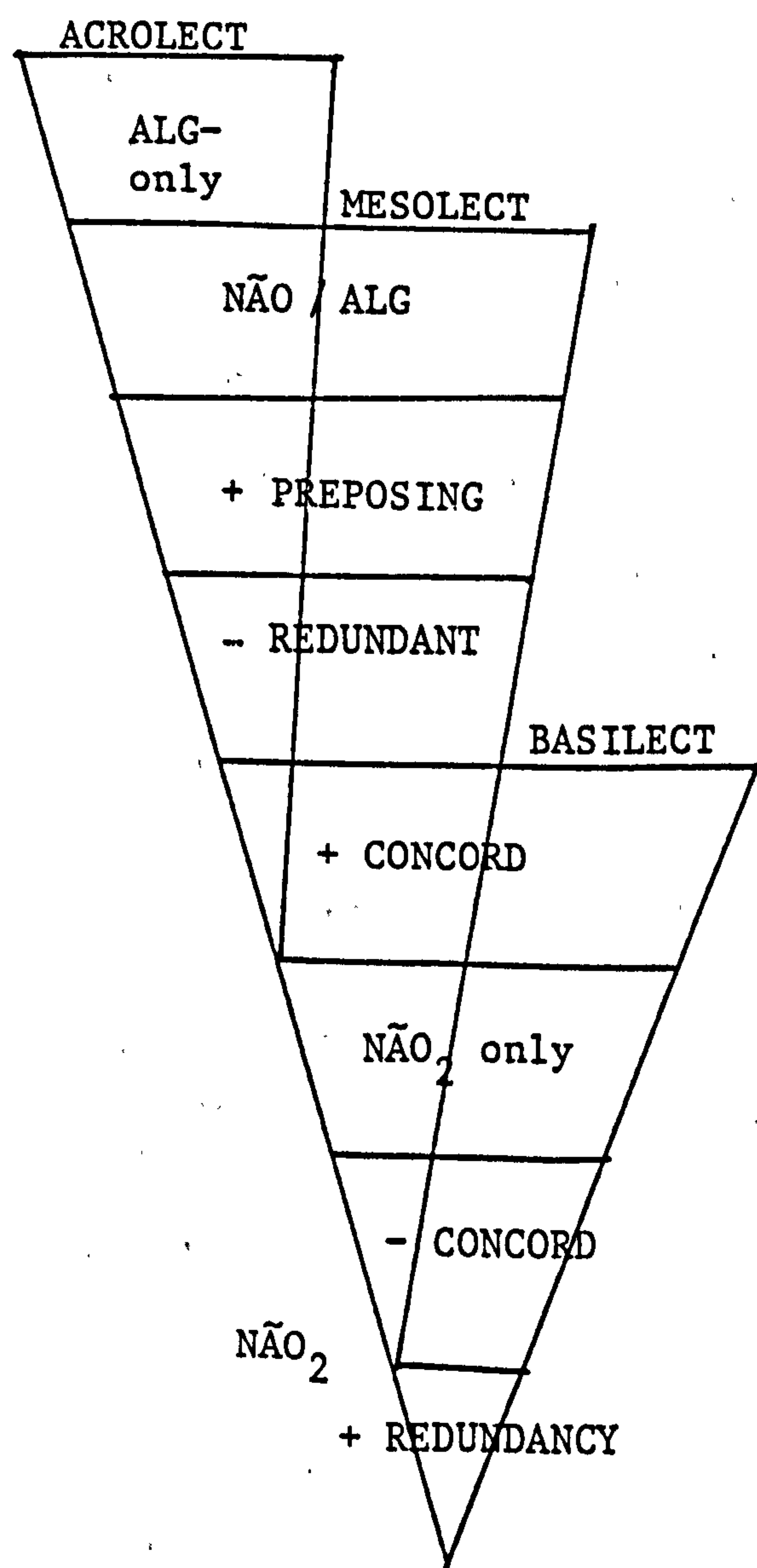
23. A distinction must be made here between tenseful and tenseless constructions (about this distinction, see Moraes, 1973 : 61), since tenseful constructions are not to be included under noun clauses, for the purposes of this analysis.

24. I have deliberately avoided bringing interrogative utterances into the picture.

the basilect, the mesolect, and the acrolect at its most informal end ;
it should be treated then as a point of convergency for all lects.

The figure below shows this convergency as well as the areas in the continuum shared by (1) basilect and mesolect, and (2) mesolect and acrolect, and those that are unique to each. The figure as a whole represents the state of affairs at the end of the pilot work.

FIGURE 1. $N\tilde{A}O_2$ IN THE NEGATION HIERARCHY



The assumption that the second NÃO is confined to informal lects and is consequently absent from the more formal varieties imposes a revision of the position that views it as an emphasis carrier. The question is then: Does the presence or absence of the second NÃO affect the referential meaning of an utterance or does it simply add to the utterance a different social meaning? I have opted for the sociolinguistic approach to the second NÃO and in view of its assumed referential emptiness, I propose to see it as a copy of the preverbal negator and call it duplicate NÃO.

1.2.4.2 In constructions in which the first negator is a negative morpheme other than NÃO.

I have also noticed that there is a type of construction in ESP (see lowest box in Figure 1) in which duplicate NÃO cannot be regarded as a copy of preverbal NÃO, for the simple reason that preverbal NÃO is not there. It is the second-NÃO-only constructions in which negation is realized just once, in postverbal position; the preverbal negator NÃO has, as it were, migrated to postverbal position.

In 'Aspectos da negação em português', Fiad (1975 : 49) states:

Existe o problema de sentenças como essa [she refers here to Ninguém não saiu 'Nobody not went out'] serem gramaticais em algum dialeto do português, assim como sentenças do tipo Vi nada e Vou não. Aqui pretendeu-se fazer uma descrição de um determinado dialeto do português, cujos falantes não empregam, normalmente, tais sentenças.²⁵

This phenomenon finds a parallel in the French construction Je sais pas

25. There is the problem of sentences like this, as well as sentences like Vi nada ('(I) saw nothing') and Vou não ('(I) go not'), which are grammatical in some Portuguese dialects. Here one intended to make a description of a dialect of Portuguese whose speakers do not normally use such sentences.

(~ Je ne sais pas) - typical of spoken French, in which negative meaning is carried by the postverbal negator pas. Both cases disconfirm the general tendency in language to mark negation before V, so as to signal it by anticipation. Yet another general tendency is at work in the two constructions, i.e. the historical tendency for the negator to migrate from preverbal to postverbal position in vernacular grammars. Echoing Mühlhäusler and Trudgill (Trudgill, 1978 : 42), I propose to call this type of reduction NAO-deletion-without cost, by opposition to those cases in which the deletion of NAO_{pv} is compensated by D.O. preposing, i.e. NAO-deletion-with cost.

It is now time to deal with the problems raised on page 60. At first sight, they seem to come down to two. The tentative solutions proposed are as follows:

- (a) The variable position of NAO in elliptical text sentences seems to imply derivations from different deep structures. It is therefore a meaning opposition. Underlying Não o gosto (Cf. utterance (72) is Não é o gosto (que é o problema) 'not (it) is the taste that is the problem'; O gosto não, on the other hand, could be derived from O gosto não é (o problema) 'the taste not is (the problem)'. In both cases two transformations (copula deletion and ellipsis) account for the surface structures of the two sentences. We are then left with one single distinctive syntactic feature, which is the order of the elements in the utterance.
- b) The three remaining questions seem to point to the same hypothesis, i.e. duplicate NAO (and this includes sentence-final NAO which is not a copy of preverbal NAO, but of other preverbal negators), is an illocutionary force indicating device (about illocutionary force, see Searle 1976 : 30). This hypothesis seems to be justified by the fact that duplicate NAO is prohibited in non-stative propositions such as (1) subordinate sentence constituents,

i.e. adverbial, adjective and noun clauses, (2) utterances marked by intonation contours unsuitable for statements of fact, and (3) sequential sentences, each of which depends on the following sentence, if not in a strictly syntactic sense, at least within a discourse perspective. These are constructions that do not qualify to have a statement marker attached to them. In fact, Searle's distinction between illocutionary and propositional negation (Cf. Searle, 1976 : 32) seems useful here. My suggestion is that duplicate NÃO signals illocutionary negation, since it never occurs when negation is propositional.

If these hypotheses prove to be true, duplicate NÃO will have to be examined as a (- formality) marker, to be found at the end of utterances by means of which the speaker performs an illocutionary act. Its variable occurrence will then be restricted to this environment.

1.2.5 Não and the Negation Continuum: from morphologically redundant to morphologically non-negative.

As the pilot analysis advanced, the negator NÃO began to disclose a pattern of variation that grew more and more significant for the understanding of the negation continuum. Eventually it was felt that from the combination of NÃO with other negators a whole set of rules could be derived that might be able to account for most of the phenomena inherent in the negation system. Such rules, it appeared, should take as their basic reference point the presence or absence of NÃO, its repercussions on the construction, and the social norms imposed on the resulting variants. It looked then as though the output of each rule would be either a case of (+ redundancy) or an instance of (+ concord) (see Table 1). This of course required a neat delimitation of the concepts of redundancy and concord, for the purposes of this work (Cf.

pp. 40, 41). I take it up again now for the purpose of setting up a hierarchy of redundancy which will then be viewed in its relation to concord.

1.2.5.1 Hierarchy of redundancy and concord:

Negative redundancy can be taken as a continuum ranging from the most to the least redundant forms. It seems that such degrees of redundancy correlate with the hierarchy of social acceptance of the redundant forms, i.e. greater stigma is attached to the more redundant forms, while the least redundant or non-redundant ones are associated with the prestigious norm in the most prestigious varieties. This is shown by the following sociolinguistic hierarchy:

FIGURE 2. STRUCTURAL HIERARCHY OF REDUNDANCY AND CONCORD.

Acrolect

Coisa algum ele fez
Ele nada fez
Ele não fez coisa alguma
Ele não fez nada
Ninguém não veio
Ele nunca não veio
Ele nem não veio
Ele não não veio

Basilect

Let us assume that this is a true account of the facts so that we can substantiate the claims just made as to the correlation between linguistic and social phenomena. If we look at the upper and lower ends of the scale, we shall notice that it goes from an extreme form of redundancy, i.e. reduplication, to a construction in which negation is not even expressed morphologically, i.e. it is a member of the class of utterances where neither redundancy nor concord play a part.

Now let us split the centre of the continuum into two areas:

A:

(73) Ninguém não veio.

(74) Ele nunca não veio.

(75) Ele nem não veio.

B:

(76) Ele não fez coisa alguma.

(77) Ele não fez nada.

In the first set NÃO co-occurs with nem, nunca and ninguém. Each of these negators carries (a) a semantic content common to all, i.e. negation, plus (b) a meaning unique to each:

Nem = NEG + emphasis.

Nunca = NEG + time.

Ninguém = NEG + person.

According to the pilot analysis, the three negators show the following syntactic characteristics: Ninguém occurs pre- and postverbally and it is unmarked in both positions. Nunca has no fixed position in

the utterance. It can occur initially or finally, as well as between any two major constituents. Its unmarked position is between Subj and V. Nem has the most restricted distribution of the three: it is always preverbal.²⁶

If we put together both the semantic and syntactic features of the three negators in question, we shall find that each relates to NÃO in a unique way, i.e. nem is emphatic NÃO: in nunca it is the meaning of time that is attached to sentence negation; Ninguém negates the sentence only indirectly - in other words, it is through the negation of the agent (Ninguém = no person = nobody) that the proposition contained in the utterance is negated. Their syntactic features, on the other hand, confirm the increasing approximation of each negator to NÃO, in this order: ninguém - nunca - nem. Therefore, when the sentence negator NÃO co-occurs with each of them in preverbal position, the sentence negation has a double realization, but at different levels: it is most redundant with nem, less redundant with nunca, and least redundant with ninguém.

In (77) the sentence Ele não fez nada, derived as we know from NEG (S Ele fez alguma coisa), has been classified as a concord sentence. The tendency to mark negation before V (see p. 64) is fulfilled in (77) by just one marker, NÃO, which is echoed by nada, on the right-hand side of V, i.e. negation is signalled non-redundantly in its

26. Needless to say, I am not referring here to adnominal nem.

natural locus. It is only in the other major component of the sentence, the predicate (i.e. fez alguma coisa) that an agreement rule determines the transformation of alguma coisa into nada. In (76) morphological negation is carried out by NÃO alone, which is a step forward in the movement away from a multi-morphemic and fully redundant negation system. The tentative conclusion is then that there will be more stigma attached to nem não than to nunca não, and to nunca não more than to ninguém não, just as Coisa alguma ele fez will be more prestigious than Ele não fez coisa alguma, and the latter more than Ele não fez nada.

1.2.6 Multiple Negation.

In the earlier stages of this analysis I dealt with a large number of negative constructions, most of which I soon had to abandon, and I also surveyed all uses of NÃO. Some of the constructions handled were utterances in which there were more than one negator in post-verbal position. My reference to them at this point has just one purpose: to point out that theoretically there is no limit to the length of a continuous string of morphological negators in a Portuguese sentence. Below is an example of a possible utterance:

- (78) Ninguém não fez nunca nada para ninguém em lugar nenhum não.
 'Nobody not did never nothing for nobody in place none not'
 ('Nobody has ever done anything for anybody anywhere').

1.2.7 NÃO Types

It is now quite clear that the negator NÃO performs a variety of functions. It is therefore desirable, for ease of exposition, to

represent each function by means of a notational device. Here is one:

- a) Preverbal ($\tilde{N}AO_{pv}$)
- b) Redundant ($\tilde{N}AO_r$)
- c) Sentence-final ($\tilde{N}AO_f$)
- d) Duplicate ($\tilde{N}AO_2$)

- a) The first type, as we have seen, is the basic sentence negator in its unmarked preverbal position. As shown earlier, it can be deleted in the case of concord sentences, where negation is then carried out by a syntactic device which amounts to a rearrangement of the words in the utterance. In single- $\tilde{N}AO$ sentences it can be replaced by a morphologically positive NP. In this case, it is the reordering of Determiner (Det) + N within the appropriate NP that accounts for negative meaning (Cf. p. 55). ($+ \tilde{N}AO_{pv}$) and ($- \tilde{N}AO_{pv}$) will invariably correlate with extralinguistic factors.
- b) The other three negators each do quite a different job, according to the environment in which they occur:
- i) $\tilde{N}AO_r$ will render a marked D.O. construction unacceptable²⁷:
(79) Ele nada não fez.
 - ii) ALG-constructions will be rendered incongruent when attached to $\tilde{N}AO_r$:
(80) Segredo algum não foi revelado.
'Secret some not was revealed'.
('No secret was revealed').

27. A couple of informants interpreted the redundant marked D.O. construction Nada ele não fez as equivalent to Ele fez algo 'He did something'. This interpretation requires a specific intonation contour. As we are here dealing with marked, yet not necessarily fronted D.O., this piece of information has been omitted.

iii) $\tilde{N}AO_r$ will make sentences with a preverbal negator

(Cf. p. 43) socially unacceptable:

(81) Ninguém não veio.

iv) Like $\tilde{N}AO_r$, $\tilde{N}AO_f$ will make preposed D.O. and ALG-constructions incongruent.

(82) Ele nada fez não.
Coisa alguma fez ele não.

v) Morphologically negated sentences to which $\tilde{N}AO_f$ is attached will correlate with the more informal end of the lects in which they occur.

vi) When occurring by itself in an utterance, $\tilde{N}AO_2$ will signal non-stigmatized informality.

Looked at from another standpoint, (vi) is a case of $\tilde{N}AO_{pv}$ deletion. This deletion is quite widespread in ESP. It affects not only the double- $\tilde{N}AO$ construction but also those in which $\tilde{N}AO_f$ has been replaced by its equivalent nada and coisa nenhuma 'thing none'.

(83) Ele fez o exercício?

(84) Fez (o exercício) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nada (Cf. p. 50)} \\ \text{coisa nenhuma} \end{array} \right\}$

Additional evidence suggests that $\tilde{N}AO_{pv}$ can also be deleted in some concord sentences such as:

(85) Você já foi a América do Norte?
'You already went to North America?'

(86) Fui nunca (não)²⁸

'(I) went never (not)'

('Have you ever been to North America?

No, I've never been').

-
28. Apparently, nunca não is favoured over nunca. This may indicate that change in the position of NAO from preverbal to postverbal is preceded by a stage in which NAO_{pv} is used concurrently with NAO₂. Assuming that this will eventually become standard practice, one has to admit that change has its locus in the informal lects. In its (+ NAO₂) version (86) has to be analysed as an instance of NAO_{pv} metastasis, rather than deletion.

2.1 PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

The pronoun chart set out on p. 33 displays the full Portuguese pronoun system known to educated Brazilians and aimed for in the schools. Selection from the chart varies both geographically and socially.

As said earlier, in this work I am dealing with the ES variety of BP (ESP), since I am working from data drawn from informants who were born and brought up in that part of the country. Obviously, this does not mean to say that all the generalizations that we have inferred apply uniquely to ESP. As a matter of fact, they are basically statements about Portuguese. However, a large number of them refer specifically to BP and whatever deviations are detected are taken as characteristically ESP, even if they reappear in other geographical lects, in one form or another.

In ESP (though perhaps not uniquely there) person paradigms overlap in a unique fashion and members of the same set show different patterns of distribution. This makes for variety and gives rise to sub-systems which correlate with extralinguistic factors, such as social class and speech context.

My earliest analytical efforts were geared to the examination of the pronoun sets belonging to the 2nd person singular class and to the 3rd person singular and plural. The reason why I concentrated on these two groups of pronouns was that they contain the largest number of function-specific items and will therefore lend themselves more readily to reduction or coalescence. The feature of the pronoun system that first captured my attention (and which, I am sure, will strike any member of the Portuguese-speaking community as a high-frequency form) was the widespread occurrence of fully-stressed ele in object position, in covariance with weakly-stressed o and lhe. Soon it became clear that this particular feature was but an instance of a broader process at work in the pronoun system, i.e. the occurrence of subject pronoun forms in object position, covarying with their respective oblique forms. A closer look revealed that such weakly-stressed forms occupied different sections of the pronoun continuum and that the environments in which they occurred fitted well into a hierarchy of constraints. I then thought it would be advisable to enlarge the picture so as to include in it the 1st person pronouns, both singular and plural, on account of their similar behaviour. While I welcomed this expansion, I also put restrictions on the range of distribution of each form under study in order not to allow the analysis to grow out of proportion and beyond the limits of this work.

Other pronouns were eventually brought in, like dele (~ seu) 'his', de vocês (~ seu) 'your'(pl.), de você (~ seu) 'your'(sing.), and even de nós (~ nosso) 'our' and de eu (~ meu) 'my'. Then it became clear that the subject pronoun forms (i.e. fully-stressed) were being distributed to environments other than the personal pronoun

categories, in which they combined with a possessive preposition and covaried with standard possessive forms. The result of this new distribution is that the standard set of morphologically subject-independent possessive forms became variant, and the new paradigm is overtly related to the subject which is in the role of possessor.

Yet only dele was given a major part in the analysis. The other possessive forms will serve, if at all, as a point of contrast leading to subsidiary remarks.

We are now in a position to extract from the standard pronoun chart the classes and forms on which our attention will be centred:

TABLE 3. A SELECTION OF PRONOUN FORMS FROM THE STANDARD PRONOUN CHART.

NUMBER	PERSON/CASE						POSSESSIVE		
	1st		2nd		3rd				
	Subj	Obj	Subj	Obj	Subj	Obj	+Prep	-Prep	
Sing	Eu	Me	Você(s)	O(s)	Te	Ele(s)	O(s)	Dele	Seu
Pl	Nós	Nos			Lhes			De vocês	

Table 3 shows the four subject pronoun forms with which we shall be dealing (eu, nós, você and ele(s)), along with their oblique equivalents (me, nos, o/te, o/lhes, ele(s)/o(s)) and, in the case of the possessive

pronouns seu-2nd person (seu-2) and seu-3rd person (seu-3), and their prepositioned variants (i.e. de vocês and de + ele = dele).

It will be noticed that the occurrence of fully-stressed subject forms in object position is the reversal of what has been established as common practice in pidgins and creoles, i.e. the selection of the weakly-stressed form, that is, the oblique, for the subject and object roles (Cf. Naro 1978 : 328, for a discussion of this problem, and also Le Page; 1977 : 237/248 about the Jamaican pronominal paradigm).

This preference for the oblique forms is referred to by Valkhoff, Todd and others. In Valkhoff's data mi appears as an allomorph of the 1st person subject form (Valkhoff 1966 : 96); Todd (1974), in turn, supplies a chart (Todd, 1974 : 16) which indicates that mi is the subject form both in Neo-Melanesian and Cameroon pidgin. Her Table 7 shows instances of a nominative non-nominative contrast cancellation for all forms in Cameroon pidgin. (She also points out that in those languages 'there has been a reduction of the English system, oblique cases being frequently discarded' (Todd, 1974 : 15), and this is yet another point of similarity with BP, which will be referred to later, if only in passing). (See RPW II - 3, in Appendix 4, for examples). Further on, in expounding the baby-talk theory of the origin of pidgins, Todd (1974 : 29) reports that reduction of pronominal contrasts, among other features, is one of the traits, shared by both pidgins and child language, which is offered as evidence by the supporters of that theory.

In relation to the possessive pronoun dele, I would like to refer the reader to what Valkhoff says (1966 : 134), i.e. that in both Portuguese

and French creoles one can observe the rendering of possessive meaning by personal pronouns. Further evidence of this process is given by the same author (Valkhoff, 1966 : 99) when, in dealing with possessives, he says that 'the pronouns proper are always formed with (di) or (ji)' (Cf. ESP de, pronounced as (dʒi)). And he supplies examples from the St. Thomas Portuguese creole, where, for instance, di mu (= de mim) translates 'mine'.

The pronominal data processed in the course of the pilot work soon revealed that some of the forms under analysis were special cases of a general system and ought to be defined as such, or basic descriptive statements would turn out to be inadequate and even wrong. In other words, some kind of qualification was required, alongside a clear delimitation of the scope of the analysis. I shall indicate the area around which our interest will be centred by marking out the cases that fall outside the scope of this work. They are pronouns which are:

(a) Marked for emphasis:

- (87) Leva eu, tambor. (RFW III - 6:3)
'Take I, drum'.

(b) Accompanied by a modifier:

- (88) Eu convidei ele sō.
'I invited he alone'.

(c) Occurring as objects of ter 'have' in its existential sense:

- (89) Tinha alguém lá? - Tinha nós.
'Was there anybody there? - there was we'.

(d) Objects of prepositions:

- (90) Ele ficou entre eu e ela.
'He stood between I and she'.

(e) Reflexive in meaning:

- (91) Eu me odeio.
'I me hate'.

(f) Required by the verb:

(92) Nós nos queixamos muito.

'We (us) complain a lot'.

(g) Objects of an infinitive:

(93) Eu quero visitar ela.

'I want (to) visit she'.

Seu and dele (and other forms of the (de + subj. pronoun) type of possessive) will be taken up in their roles as carriers of the meaning of possession, and no other. Variants typical of literary styles (e.g. lhe as possessive) will be entirely discarded and so will postnominal occurrences of seu as well as uses of both seu and dele as noun equivalents. Below is an example of each kind:

(a) Literary variant:

(94) Tomou-lhe a mão e beijou-a.

'He took her hand and kissed it'.

(b) Postnominal and Noun equivalent:

(95) Você está no carro de Pedro? - Não, estou no seu, a pedido seu.

'Are you in Peter's car? No, I am in yours, at your request.'

Furthermore, seu will not be incorporated when it refers back to an indefinite possessor (Cf. p. 37), since in this role it has socio-linguistic connotations that are quite distinct from those observable in cases where the possessor is specified. In fact, this shows that ESP speakers are aware of the presence of ele in the form dele, which they shun in favour of seu, when the referential meaning of the possessor is unspecified. e.g. Cada um tem a sua parte da casa. (RFW IV - 40:1)
'Each has the 'sua' part of the house'.

2.2 THE TWO CONTINUA : SOME THEORETICAL REMARKS.

As suggested earlier, negatives and pronouns have been brought together in this work with a particular aim in view: to find out whether the two continua span the lectal spectrum as interdependent sub-systems or whether their movement across the lects is quite independent. If the latter hypothesis proves true, we are not to expect exact correlation to hold at every point. One way or the other, I hope that the findings of this analysis will add to the bulk of information supplied by empirical research in response to queries such as those posed by theoretical linguists seeking to pin down the processes by which grammar is acquired.

Within the limited scope of this analysis, my aim is to pinpoint the defining features of the basilect, the mesolect and the acrolect in either continuum. I shall do so by resorting to extralinguistic information concerning the sociolinguistic status of negative and pronominal forms. As the two systems emerge, I shall set them up side by side, so as to be able to locate possible convergent and divergent points as well as overlapping areas. I expect then to end up with an account of the inter-system patterning of variation, intended to clarify the question of what we might call vertical intra-language correlation and respond to empirical questions such as these: Do basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal negative constructions go hand in hand with their pronominal counterparts within an individual's grammar? And - since I shall be comparing two systems which operate at different linguistic levels, i.e. morphology and syntax: do inter-level formal relations make for less correspondence between variants? And finally: are the two lectal continua related implicationally just

as the lects within either continuum are assumed to be? In other words, is it legitimate to speak of inter-continua implicational relations? The last query is motivated by the failure of previous studies within the theoretical framework of the dynamic paradigm to investigate whether implicational relationships could be found to hold within and across sub-systems.

My assumptions are that implicational relations whereby lects are arranged along a continuum within a sub-system do not invariably correlate with the lectal relations within any other sub-system. Therefore, I assume that in this connection, too, overlapping is to be expected, and that the processes at work in each continuum are not necessarily of the same nature, nor does change act upon them on equal terms.

Implicit in the above is the idea that in this study correlation will be looked at along two dimensions: (1) internal, that is, the type of correspondence which is observable between the language micro-systems; (2) external, i.e. the correlation that can be shown to exist between the linguistic systems and extralinguistic factors. We now turn to the analysis.

2.3 ANALYSIS

2.3.1 Pronoun Variants.

As pointed out earlier, the personal pronouns will be looked at in this analysis against the background of the verbal phrase (VP), i.e. we shall be handling them in the object position. The weakly-stressed

forms of the pronouns are for the most part associated with the more formal lects, while the fully-stressed ones correlate with the more informal varieties until they reach down to the most heavily stigmatized lects. Soon it will be noticed that the person categories act as a variable constraint on the selection of the pronoun variant, in such a way that they can be rank-ordered as hierarchized environments. As we have seen, the fully-stressed forms that alternate with the weakly-stressed ones in object position are morphologically identical with the subject pronoun forms. They also function as complements of prepositions. In this respect, the first person singular differs from the others in that it has an oblique stressed form, mim 'me', which is a regular prepositional object filler but never occurs in direct object position.

A first tentative analysis of the data on which the pilot study is based led to the establishment of the following variants:

TABLE 4. PERSONAL PRONOUN VARIANTS

1st Person			2nd Person		3rd Person	
	D.O.	I.O.	D.O.	I.O.	D.O.	I.O.
Sing	eu ~ me		Você~o~te	Você~lhe~te	Ele~o	Ele~lhe
Pl	nós ~ nos					

TABLE 5. POSSESSIVE PRONOUN VARIANTS

3rd Person	2nd Person	
	Singular	Plural
seu~dele	seu~de você	seus~de vocês

Tables 4 and 5 show a selection of categories in which only variation relevant to this analysis was included. This means that regional as well as literary variants have been discarded. I also attempted to avoid duplicating samples and bringing in variants that would pose problems which could not be tackled within the scope of this work. Thus, variants such as I.O. me ~ mim, oblique forms carrying possessive meaning (Cf. p. 78), pleonastic possessives (Cf. p. 36) and pronouns (e.g. Ele me convidou a mim 'He me invited to me'), and forms marked for gender and number have all been left out of the chart. Vocês is an exception, for reasons that will be made clear.

If we look at Tables 4 and 5, we shall note that two of the main characteristics of the systems they display are semantic disambiguation and case levelling. Ambiguous forms are (1) o, (2) lhe and (3) seu. They disambiguate into (1) você, te/ele, (2) você/ele and (3) dele/de vocês. Subj/D.O. case contrasts are reduced in all person categories, but Table 4 shows only the D.O./Indirect Object contrast reduction, in both 2nd and 3rd persons.

2.3.2 Pronouns and Word Order.

The pronouns, like the negators, also interact with word order, though not at the same levels and to a similar extent. The first important distinction to be made is that while the ordering of the sentence constituents can carry both a stylistic and a semantic value in the case of negation, the position of the pronouns, personal and possessive alike, signals only literary style or lectal variation. The referential component in the pronoun system, just discussed, resolves itself lexically, not syntactically, as in the negation system.

Leaving aside the innumerable rules set out in traditional grammars, we can single out two verb/pronoun (= P) orderings:

- a) V + P
- b) P + V

This word order contrast is socially significant when it interacts with a morphological contrast. The weakly-stressed variant can occur in both positions:

(96) Ele me convidou.
'He me invited'.

(97) Ele convidou-me.
'He invited me'.

(96) and (97) above, signal different degrees of formality, (97) being the more formal of the two. However, both utterances are socially unmarked.

Yet this is a question that had to be dismissed at the outset, on account of its irrelevance for the purposes of this analysis. I am

taking it up now as a point of interest in comparing the behaviour of a categorical form in a variable position with that of a morphologically variable form in a fixed position.

As we know, at certain points in the pronoun continuum, socially stigmatized forms begin to alternate with standard ones. In the case in point, still considering the 1st person singular, the alternants are eu~me (Cf. Table 4). As we have just pointed out, the position of the weakly stressed form is variable, whereas the position assigned to the socially marked variant is fixed, i.e. it is invariably postverbal:

(96) Ele convidou eu.

The same holds for all the other person categories, and the reason for this is obvious: once the Subj/Obj case contrast failed to express itself morphologically, syntax took over and the form had its position established after V. The case contrast is now rendered by the opposition preV/postV. This comes in support of the theory of morphological reduction according to which the Indo-Germanic languages have a tendency to change from a synthetic to an analytical character. In fact, this is a basic process in the formation of creoles (Cf. Nobiling in R  vah, 1963 : 446).

2.4 THE SIMPLICITY/COMPLEXITY ISSUE IN RELATION TO THE BP NEGATION AND PRONOUN SYSTEMS.

This seems to be the appropriate occasion to bring up the simplicity/complexity issue in relation to creoles. Earlier on (Cf. p. 10), we resorted to Corder for information on the type of linguistic system

which is expected to evolve in post-creole situations, and the idea was that a post-creole continuum does not develop from less to more complex, like the developmental continua; it rather restructures itself as it approaches the standard, and restructuring does not necessarily imply increased complexity.

If we now look at the negation and pronoun systems in BP, we shall note that in both cases lectal variants standing far apart from one another (e.g. prestigious and stigmatized forms) display equally complex structures, that is if we choose to define complexity in quantitative terms.

An example of this is the double realization of negation. We have observed that the requirement for negation to be realized twice in the surface structure of concord sentences is carried out throughout the continuum (Cf. p. 56). So it is that, for instance, a construction that has undergone $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ deletion will resort to D.O. preposing to compensate for it and so regain its balance as an equally 'complex' construction. By the same token, utterances in which $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ is retained while NEG-D.O. is expressed by an ALG-form, will retain their double realization by resting on a syntactically NEG complement. In other words, whether by means of two negative morphemes, two syntactic devices or one negative morpheme plus a syntactic device, negation in concord sentences will always be doubly realized.

The other illustration comes from the pronoun system itself, just discussed. Here again structural 'complexity' is readily recovered when the reduction of a morphological contrast is balanced out by recourse to word ordering.

This will be better understood in the light of the events which bring about the NAO₂-only basi-mesolectal variants, since while they are quantitatively simpler, their social distribution shows that they correlate with very informal speech contexts.

2.5 A PRONOUN HIERARCHY OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSTRAINTS

The person and possessive pronoun variants set up in the pilot analysis (Cf. pp. 81, 82), as we have seen, are realizations of the ± stress²⁹ variable, and the environments in which they occur are as follows:

(a) for personal pronouns: / (—) V (—), (b) for possessive pronouns: / (—) N (—). The following rule accounts for both the morphological and syntactic alternations involved:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Preverbal} \\ \text{Prenominal} \end{array} \right\} \text{ weakly-stressed} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Postverbal} \\ \text{Postnominal} \end{array} \right\} \text{ fully-stressed}$$

Examination of the data has revealed that this rule does not operate simultaneously in all person categories. On the contrary, its operation is variously constrained by person and number, and this demands the sub-classification of the general environments just set up, so as to determine the manner in which the sub-environments relate to one another.

I suggest that we start off by setting apart the end-points of the hierarchy of environments: one end will be occupied by the most

29. ± stress here stands for variation between fully-stressed and weakly-stressed forms.

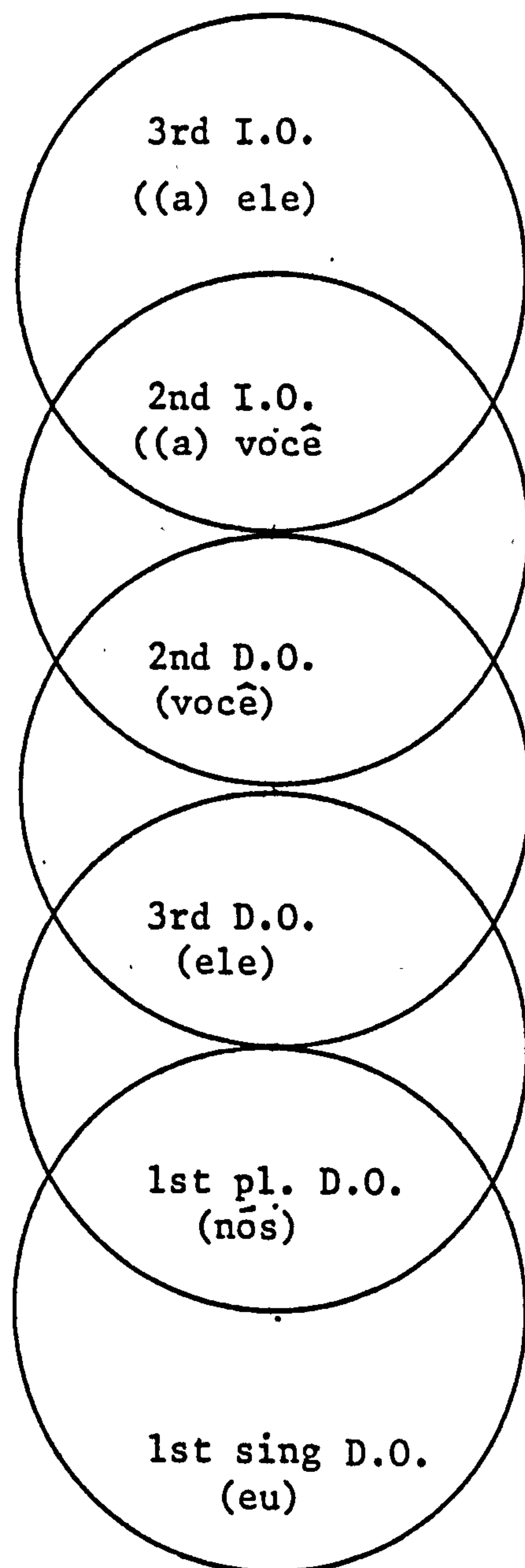
favoured variant and the other by the least favoured one. The environmental constraints will vary correspondingly, i.e. constraint is weakest when the variant is most favoured and strongest when it is least favoured. On these grounds, environments can be rank-ordered and a hierarchy of constraints will emerge.

2.5.1 Personal Pronouns.

On a preliminary analysis, it appears that it is in the 3rd person I.O. category that the fully-stressed variant is most favoured. Or, in other words, it is the 3rd person I.O. category that places the least constraint on the occurrence of the variant (a) ele (which is, therefore, the least basilectal of all). On the other hand, eu is the least favoured of all pronominal forms (or the most basilectal one), and this means that strongest constraint comes from the 1st person category in its singular sub-class. Number is, therefore, significant to constraint in the case of the 1st person. Not so with the 2nd and 3rd. The other forms emerge as more or less favoured. Yet we expect the centre of the hierarchy to be highly variable, and this makes for overlap between adjacent lects (Cf. p. 44). If this is the case, we are not to believe that the constraining force of the hierarchized environments will be imparted by means of discrete bursts. Constraint is also variable and continuous.

On the following page is a representation of the form that the hierarchy of variable constraints for the personal pronoun system will take:

FIGURE 3. PERSONAL PRONOUN HIERARCHY OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSTRAINTS.



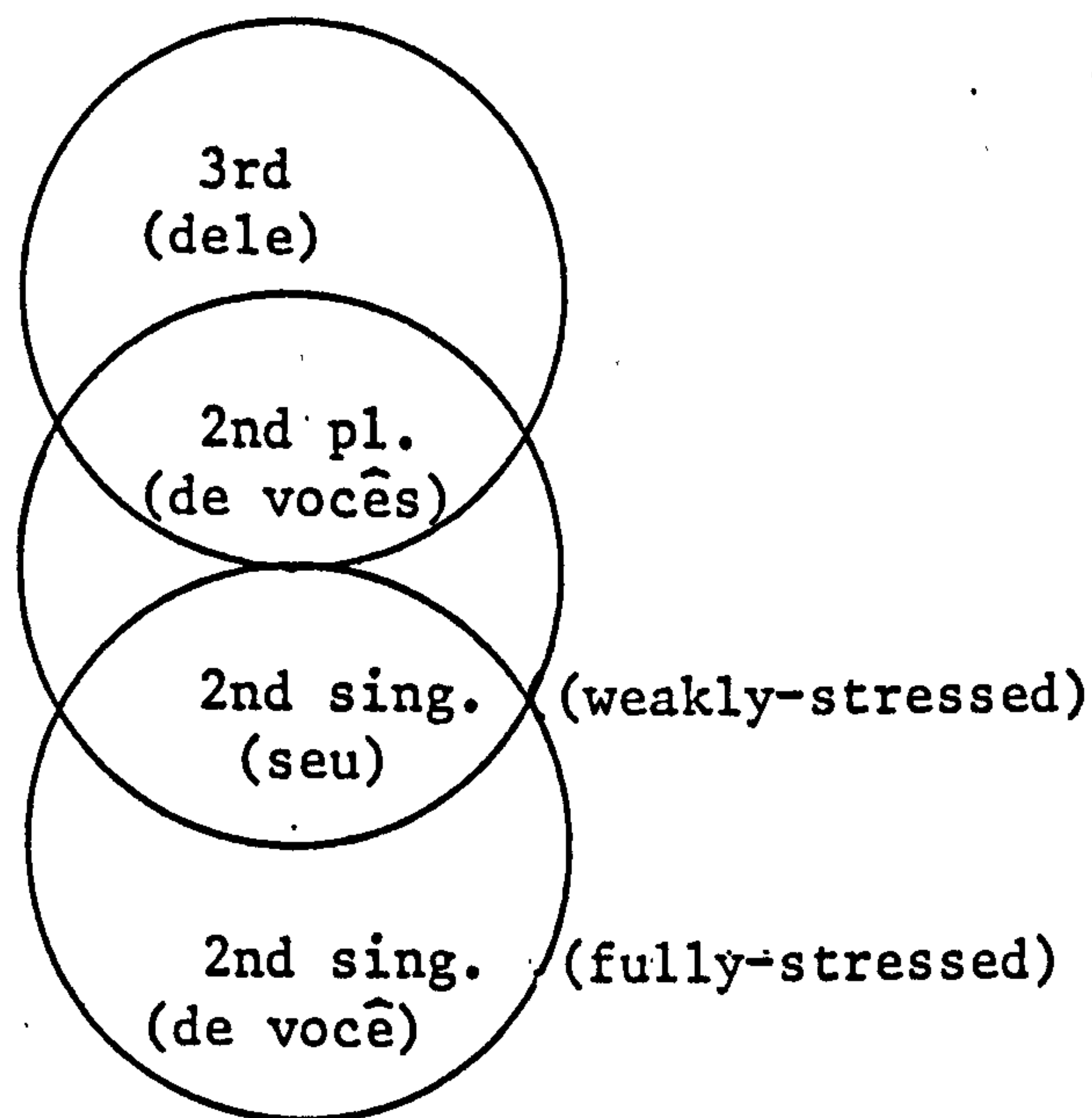
2nd person D.O. = você³⁰

30. As shown in Table 4, você alternates with te, and my early assumptions were that the latter was more representative of ESP than the former. Here te is left out because it brings in other complications, i.e. its co-occurrence with subj. você brings about a rearrangement of the system of address. Let me add that você has a regional (and at the same time social) variant (i.e. ocê), which is not dealt with in this work, for obvious reasons.

2.5.2 Possessive Pronoun Hierarchy.

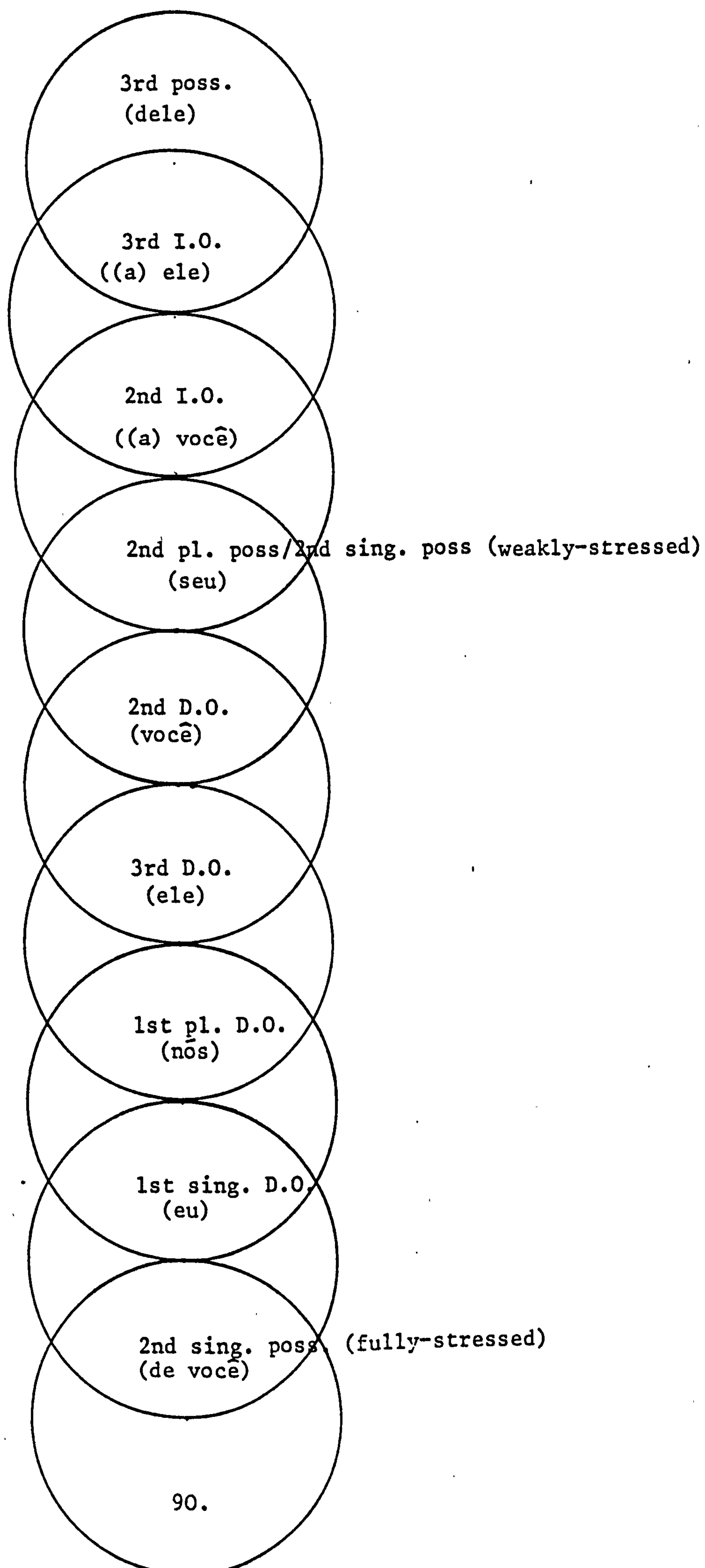
Similarly, it is in the 3rd person category that the subject pronoun form is most favoured among the possessives; the second person ranks second. Here again number is decisive: I assume that (de) vocês/(de) você stand to one another in a grammatical vs. ungrammatical relationship, but this will be clarified later. In the meantime, the possessive pronoun hierarchy of environmental constraints will look like this.

FIGURE 4. POSSESSIVE PRONOUN HIERARCHY OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONSTRAINTS.



Mapped on to one another, the personal/possessive hierarchies will take on the following shape:

FIGURE 5. PERSONAL/POSSESSIVE PRONOUN HIERARCHIES COMBINED.



Looked at implicationally, the placing of 3rd person possessive at the uppermost end of the hierarchy suggests that the lectal distribution of dele is the broadest of all, since it spans the whole scale. What this amounts to is that dele is closer to the standard than the other fully-stressed forms. It follows then that the variant form seu has had its range of use restricted, and we can predict that it will eventually be categorically replaced by dele. Later we shall see what the results of the subjective attitude test have to say about the status of seu in ESP.

2.5.3 Case Levelling in the Mesolect.

Considering that the socially unmarked varieties of BP (by that I mean neither stigmatized nor prestigious-plus-artificial (i.e. hyper-acrolectal) fall within the mesolect, it will perhaps be useful at this point, i.e. just before we embark on the major and final analysis, to draw up a pronoun chart showing the transformations which the full chart (Cf. p. 33) has undergone:

TABLE 6. PERSONAL

	1st Person		2nd Person	3rd Person
	Subj	D.O./I.O.	Subj/D.O./I.O.	Subj/D.O./I.O.
Sing	eu	me	(a) você	(a) ele
Pl	nós	nos	(a) vocês	(a) eles

TABLE 7. POSSESSIVE

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Sing	meu	seu	dele
Pl	nosso	de vocês	deles

2.5.4 Basilectal System.

By way of comparison, let us see what format Table 6 will assume in the basilect:

TABLE 8. PERSONAL

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
	Subj/D.O./I.O. ³¹	Subj/D.O./I.O.	Subj/D.O./I.O.
Sing	eu	você	ele
Pl	nós	vocês	eles

We are not entitled by the body of data available to set up a hypothesis as to the basilectal version of Table 7. Therefore, we shall leave it at that. My impression is, though, that if further morphological reduction is applied to it, we shall be moving into child language (Cf. p. 176 about possessives which are expressed by preposition + personal pronoun).

31. Basilectal I.O. incurs preposition deletion in all person categories.

2.5.5 Summary.

So far the analysis of the corpus utilized in the pilot work has turned out results pointing towards the following tentative conclusions: (1) the acrolect/basilect contrast rests upon the variable (+ stress) in interaction with word order. Acrolectal forms are the weakly-stressed oblique ones, while the basilectal forms are fully-stressed. For the purpose of this work, fully-stressed forms are defined in terms of their syntactic role as subject case fillers. In the basilect, personal pronoun forms are categorically postverbal, while in the acrolect they are both post- and preverbal. (However, pronoun position in the acrolect is not basic to this analysis.)

(2) The basilectal system is morphologically reduced in relation to the acrolect, yet its overall pattern cannot on any score be said to be simpler, since other linguistic devices are called upon to compensate for morphological loss. So long as morphological reduction does not threaten meaning, the basilectal varieties will welcome it. The following will illustrate the point: There is mass reduction of case contrasts (Subj/Obj and to a certain extent D.O./I.O.) for all persons in both singular and plural, and gender is not realized in the 2nd person. However, in the 3rd person the acrolectal gender distinction is retained. Basilectal speech is basically context-dependent and this seems to justify the reduction policies just described.³²

32. 3rd person referents are displaceable, unlike the 2nd person ones. While the former can be anaphoric, the latter are always deictic. See Valdman (1977 : 157), for reference to Le Page's distinction between pidginization and creolization as a difference between context-bound and context-free speech.

(3) Semantic distinctions between the acrolect and the basilect indicate a move away from ambiguity. Two person contrasts operate in the basilect in environments where no distinction is made in the acrolect. Let it be said that, once made, such contrasts will be extended to the entire paradigm that has been affected by them, thus overloading the morphology even further. One gender contrast is at work in the basilectal 3rd person as against an ambiguous acrolectal form. Disambiguation is clearest with the possessives; the referents contained in the ambiguous form seu (acrolectal in one of its senses) are clearly exposed in seu, dele, dela, deles, delas, de vocês, in which person, number and gender contrasts all contribute to sort out the acrolectal semantic conglomerate.

(4) Variability is the norm in the mesolect, although at one level of analysis word order is variable in both personal and possessive pronoun systems. The mesolect is the variable ground where basilectal features restructure themselves on their way to the acrolect.

In the next chapters we shall submit the findings of the pilot work to the scrutiny of an analysis which is based on additional data gathered in extensive fieldwork, and intended as a testing ground for the hypotheses that emerged in the course of this preliminary analysis.

PART III. THE MAIN ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter I shall deal with the results of fieldwork carried out with the purpose of testing the hypotheses raised during the pilot analysis. (For procedures and methods, see p. 18).

The body of data which I have utilized for the pilot study is now greatly enlarged by the addition of a new corpus of recorded speech, as well as speech samples collected through participant observation. An entirely new feature of this final corpus is the written material which has been drawn from texts of various kinds, literary included. These additional data have either expanded or slightly changed the picture projected by the pilot study.

The overall results of this analysis will in due course be mapped on to the findings of the subjective attitude test, which is the instrument that will entitle us to make evaluations about the sociolinguistic status of the forms and constructions examined. In Part IV actual observed behaviour as displayed in its final form by this analysis will be checked against the findings of the judgement test. On the basis of the results thus obtained, I shall attempt to establish the sociolinguistic norms implicit in the data.

As indicated earlier, my assumptions are that linguistic forms and constructions relate to one another implicationally. Therefore, my aim in this chapter is to present pronominal forms and negative constructions within the framework of implicational scaling. I shall

do so by setting up implicational scales, and laying down a number of rules to state the conditions under which alternations take place within each system. Crucial to these decisions is the definition of the variables in the two sub-systems, since I have based the construction of implicational scales and the formulation of rules on the analysis of these variables.

A final look at the data has confirmed my early impressions that, linguistically speaking, there are no sharp boundaries between lects. In fact it is possible to predict the presence or absence of a form in a speaker's (or group of speakers') lect on the basis of the forms already in existence, by appealing to the system of relations at work in the language.

The notion that one lect slips into the other quite imperceptibly and that this gradual change follows an implicational patterning is sufficient motivation for the claim that linguistic systems are both continuous and dynamic.

In fact I have every reason to believe that De Camp's and Bickerton's claims as to the high degree of scalability in language systems are well grounded, and that language systems shift gradually and therefore display no discrete boundaries. However, I find that one cannot at all stages leave out of the question the social implications of the language continuum.

In discussing the polysystemic nature of language, Le Page (1979 : 8) suggests that 'in a diffuse language community, the linguistic system

in terms of socially-marked behaviour may well consist of a great many partial systems, themselves diffuse'. And he goes on to criticize De Camp and Bickerton for trying to capture such partial systems without taking social marking into account.

In my analysis, the data were initially examined in terms of internal linguistic constraints, i.e. no extralinguistic factors were invoked in hierarchizing environmental constraints. By this I mean that the distances separating (1) redundant from non-redundant utterances in the negation system, and (2) fully-stressed from weakly-stressed forms in the pronoun system were established intra-systemically. So was also the restructuring that took place across these distances, in the space between the two end-points. In other words, a purely linguistic analysis of the data available was sufficient to uncover the morphological/syntactic negation continuum as well as the fully-stressed/weakly-stressed pronoun continuum. However, this was as far as the autonomous linguistic analysis of the data could take me.

At this point I would like to raise a question which seems crucial to the position I have assumed in this analysis. This has to do with the power of implicational scaling, as proposed by Bickerton, to give a comprehensive picture of all the facts involved in variation. Le Page (1978 : 6) refers to implicational scales as 'linguistic constructs'. He argues that they are nothing more than mechanical devices adequate to show the distribution of data. In other words, a distributional model incapable of showing how the systems (or lects, or individuals) scaled function in the language community. In fact, Sankoff (1977) accuses Bickerton of proposing a model lacking in just the quality which has substantiated his greatest claim, i.e. dynamism.

Along the same line, Romaine (forthcoming) resorts to Bickerton and Bailey themselves to prove her point that the wave model is unable to 'predict the course that a given change will take'. This, I think, amounts to saying that it would serve as a description of a unidirectional linguistic continuum and nothing else. But there is still more in the critical literature. In her review of Bickerton's Dynamics of a creole system (1975), Sankoff (1977) points out a number of what she sees as discrepancies in Bickerton's approach. She questions the accountability of his description to the data on which it is based and argues that 'his approach involved using ... data selectively and illustratively, rather than checking each of his hypotheses exhaustively against all of his recorded data' (Cf. Sankoff, 1977 : 298-299).

The implicational scales which will be presented in the following pages are both linguistic and social. They are linguistic in the sense that the pattern of distribution that they display evolved in the course of a purely linguistic analysis of two linguistic processes: (1) in the case of negation the role of NAO and its interaction with word order; (2) in the pronoun system the relation between form and function in the object case. The linguistic analysis led to the setting up of a panlectal grid (Cf. Bickerton, 1973 : 643) for both negation and pronoun continua. The next step taken was to validate the systems displayed in the panlectal grid by correlating them with social context. And this is where implicational scaling in our approach acquires a social connotation.

The implicational scales in this work only become sociolinguistically

meaningful when viewed in conjunction with the situational contexts in which each form was attested. In fact, the criteria which I have employed for the final characterization of the scaled lects are strictly non-linguistic, i.e. each lect comprehends utterances attested in a particular situational context¹ which has been defined as occupying a space in a hierarchy of social uses of the language. In other words, I assume that a speaker's adjustments to the speech context (or the medium, in the case of a writer) are sufficient motivations for setting apart as one lect the total occurrences of linguistic forms in that particular context (or medium). Lects are therefore defined as functions of the relationship between linguistic performance and social context. Thus, each lect represents the linguistic output of any number of individuals who are brought together in this analysis by virtue of their use of similar strategies for the choice of language variants. Educational background and other extra-linguistic factors are resorted to when speech context ceases to be significant (e.g. cases in which the speaker's stylistic repertoire is too restricted to allow for adjustments to social context).

As I said earlier, I am working from a very large corpus of data. Therefore, the hypotheses and conclusions which I put forward in the pilot study as well as in the present analysis rest on a substantial amount of testing and the utterances that appear in the text are samples of a far broader inventory of uses.

1. Cf. Le Page (1978): 'Our own procedure is based on the supposition that all linguistic behaviour is stimulated by some context or other' (p. 27).

My adoption of the terms basilect, mesolect and acrolect and my approach to the negation and pronoun systems as three-tier hierarchies are not simply a theoretical exercise. I find that it is quite appropriate to segment the negation and pronoun continua into three, as long as it is perfectly understood that we are talking of 'areas', and that the three labels are seen as generalizations applied to sequences of lects.

Surely this approach applies most correctly to the central area, the mesolect. Indeed, as Bickerton says (1973 : 642, footnote), it would be more accurate to talk of 'mesolects!', rather than 'mesolect'. The two peripheral areas, however, might well be regarded as monolectal, each in its own way, but still overlapping into the mesolect.

In my data I have not detected any watertight compartments as would be the case with discrete systems. As we shall see, redundancy overlaps with concord, and concord with syntactic negation, to cite only the negation system. However, it is not the case that the three processes can be attested in all areas of the negation system, with differences being accounted for by differing percentages of use. On the strength of the evidence available, we can be sure that syntactic negation is absent from the basilect just as redundancy never occurs in the acrolect.

The incorporation of a social element in this analysis has made it possible for the social pattern of language variation to show through on the implicational scales. We are now in a position to pin down the lower and the upper ends of the scale in terms of greater or lesser approximation to SP or to the assumed creole basis. But there are still other problems. An autonomous linguistic analysis

would not be able to cope with alternations such as Ele não fez nada ~ Ele nada fez, in the negation system. At best it could account for their relatedness as free variants. As for the free variance issue, one can easily see that it is even linguistically untenable, if by language (or grammar) one means not just a formal system of relations but also the lexical insertions that are to make the formal system meaningful. On the other hand, the findings of the attitude test have revealed that some linguistic environments place restrictions on the occurrence of certain variants (Cf. p.57 for lectal incongruence). Such restrictions would not be fully understood unless extra-linguistic factors were brought into the picture, for the simple reason that ultimately they are social constraints.

I said earlier that socially-based implicational scaling shows where the lower and the upper ends of a linguistic continuum are located. This is a question of directionality which, I think, merits further consideration. Directionality cannot be established unless extra-linguistic factors are brought in (Cf. Romaine, forthcoming). Let us again exemplify from negation, by taking the (a) Ninguém não veio ~ (b) Não veio ninguém alternation. In strictly linguistic terms I am not sure whether this alternation would be better described as a case of Ninguém-postposing or Ninguém-preposing (just as it would not be quite clear whether the variants (a) Ele veio não ~ (b) Ele não veio não are triggered by NÃO-deletion or NÃO-addition). Certainly, if the system is looked at within a broader perspective, the more desirable course of action may emerge from the generalizations under which these particular cases will have to come in. However, whatever analytical procedures are proposed, their appropriateness will always be arguable.

The reflection of this state of affairs on implicational scaling is that we could not be very sure whether (a) implies (b) or vice-versa. Consequently, our decision as to which variant will represent the operation of a later rule in the process of decreolization might not reflect the reality of language in use.

This amounts to the following: when I state that redundancy is basilectal and that negation becomes less redundant as it approaches the standard language, I am making a socially-based statement (about convergency towards the centre, see p. 104). What I mean to say is that if, for example, an implicational scale shows that a redundancy rule is running through the system and that its acquisition by a speaker (or group of speakers) implies that he has already got rid of non-redundancy, it is not stating the facts. Yet what enables us to make this claim is the social information that has made itself available in the course of the research. It is therefore on social grounds that the upper and the lower ends of the negation continuum have been defined.

Another illustration of the importance of extralinguistic factors for establishing patterns of variation is the treatment I gave to the occurrence of negative redundancy and fully-stressed pronoun forms in contexts where standard grammar is expected to be in full command (Cf. PO I - 4:1 and WL IV - 3:1). These two phenomena might have been interpreted as a pre-acrolectal stage which has not yet been affected by the acrolectal non-redundancy and weak-stress rules, but that eventually will. However, I have described them as instances of convergency towards the mesolect on account of evidence drawn from the social structure of the ES community (see Conclusion, pp. 309 to 311).

Socially based implicational scaling will enable correct predictions to be made as to what rules have already operated in a set of environments, once a certain rule has completed its course. Therefore I believe that if implicational scales are not designed in such a way as to take into account the correlations between language and context, they might be made to reverse the order of events.

In the present case, implicational scales should be able to show a directionality that reveals the progressive acquisition of non-redundancy and case-constrasting rules which will later be reversed in the direction of a mesolectal norm. This information will then be processed in the light of transformations in the ES society.

In the pages to follow I shall demonstrate how well my data fit into this implicational model. But before I undertake the analysis I would like to summarize the basic points of our discussion: (1) The continua that we shall be handling have their upper and lower ends neatly correlated with highly educated and uneducated groups, respectively; therefore while there is linguistic gradation from one end to the other, there are also socially marked areas which make for sharp boundaries; (2) socially speaking, the acrolect and the basilect are marked, while the mesolect is unmarked. Therefore there are boundaries separating the mesolect from either the acrolect or the basilect; (3) there is a qualitative difference between lectal relations in (a) inter-lect, and (b) intra-lect areas, such that any group of lects that can be described as either acro-, meso- or basi-lectal will correlate with speech context, not social class. Yet cross-boundary lects systematically correlate with different social classes; in other words, intra-lectal variation is stylistic

variation in Labov's terms (Cf. Labov, 1976), whereas inter-lectal variation correlates with social class. Thus, if we maintain that the acrolect and the basilect are not variable, we shall have to describe mesolectal variation as stylistic and acrolect/mesolect and mesolect/basilect variation as social. This would point to the acrolectal/mesolectal/basilectal systems as linguistically continuous but socially discrete; (4) to use Le Page's terms (Le Page, 1978), the E.S. society is a fairly 'focussed' one, but what seems to be happening is not a straightforward unidirectional movement from the lower to the upper end; rather both ends are converging towards the centre, and this is better interpreted as an instance of re-focussing.

The implicational scales in this work follow the general lines of Bailey's wave model (Bailey 1973 : 156-186), according to which variants should be scaled in such a way as to allow the implicational patterning to proceed from right to left. The result of this arrangement will be, as Bickerton puts it (1976 : 79), that:

presence of a feature in any column implies
the presence of all features to the right,
absence implies absence in all columns to
the left.

In the two extreme lects forms are categorical in all environments, while in between variation proceeds gradually, affecting one environment after the other. Therefore, while in one environment variable occurrence becomes categorical, in the previous environment it is still undergoing change. This is of course a continuum.

CHAPTER 2: ANALYSIS

As I said earlier, this investigation was intended as the crucial ground for testing the hypotheses set up in the preliminary analysis; it is fair to say, though, that the pilot study itself was a description of an extensive corpus which consisted, for the most part, of actual speech data.

The material handled in this chapter was obtained by means of recording of spontaneous speech, participant observation and selection of written texts. The goal of this analysis is to verify the legitimacy of the negation and pronoun continua as they are set up in the pilot study (pp. 38 to 94), and to set one continuum against the other, with a view to establishing correlations between them. I will do so by (1) checking out the occurrence in the data of the variants that fill out either continuum as presented in the pilot study; (2) relating the variants detected to the extralinguistic context in which they were observed. In the final version of the two continua under study I shall incorporate linguistic samples obtained by means of every analytical procedure as referred to above. An additional source of information will be the opinions elicited through the application of the subjective attitude test. In other words, all these procedures will be taken as complementary. This combination of procedures was intended as an attempt to neutralize the effects of the presence of the observer (Cf. Labov 1976 : 181, about the 'observer's paradox').

2.1 CRITERIA FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE DATA.

As we have seen, the corpus of data on which I shall draw in the course of this chapter comprises both written and spoken material. Considering that the written material consists largely of formal to hyper-formal texts, I shall refer to it as 'formal writing'. As for the spoken samples, I shall treat them under the general headings of 'uneducated' and 'educated'. This will provide us with a general hierarchical framework within which the full corpus can be viewed, i.e. uneducated/educated/formal writing. Below I look at this general hierarchy in more detail in order to establish a rank order of extralinguistic factors associated with the data.

As one can infer from the coding system of classification of the data (Cf. pp. 23, 24), a rank order of extralinguistic environments can be set up for each class of variants to account for the correlation between variant forms and social context (or speaker's educational background). To match the general hierarchy just suggested, extralinguistic environments are ordered from most uneducated to highly educated (or hyper-formal written style). As indicated on pages 23 and 24, the text transcribed from tape was found to contain five levels, the written material seven, and the samples obtained through participant observation four. The criteria by which each level was defined are spelt out below:

I - For RFW and PO:

1. Educated formal:

Some of the major sources are: (1) magistrates' speeches in Court of Justice sessions; (2) political debates in official meetings; (3) graduation ceremony speeches; (4) religious sermons.

2. Educated informal:

Established by reference to both data sources and informants' educational background. Samples have been taken mainly from news media interviewer's speech and stereotyped utterances. Conversations have also been resorted to, in which case the informant's educational background becomes crucial, i.e. they must be conversations involving educated speakers (by 'educated speaker' I mean a town dweller who has completed no less than secondary education). Data from TV serial dialogues have also been included.

3. Uneducated urban:

Based on informant's residence and educational background. Samples are gathered in conversations among uneducated speakers who reside on the periphery of the capital city of Vitória and in nearby villages heavily influenced by urban life and manners. This class of informants covers both illiterate and literate speakers. The latter group includes speakers with some schooling, but not enough to produce basic alterations in their speech patterns.

4. Rural:

Defined according to residence, occupation and educational background. The data under this heading consists of samples drawn from interviews with farm workers in villages far removed from the capital city and not easily accessible. They are either illiterate or semi-literate. Black speech is also included in this category (Cf. p. 18).

5. Level 5 has been set up to allow for the incorporation of the samples of child language that appear in the recordings. Such samples

were captured in chats between father/mother and their child.

II - For the written material:

The seven levels set up for the written language data can be said to cover three areas. They are: (1) hyperformal (and literary) from 1 to 3; (2) formal and impersonal from 4 to 5; and (3) formal (but personal) from 6 to 7. The last level, represented as we have seen by personal letters, draws its formal characteristics from the medium in which it is rendered, since topic, contextual factors and the addressee's relationship with the addresser are typically informal. Level 6, on the other hand, represents the speaker's deliberate effort to meet the writing standards imposed by the educational system.

Now we shall proceed to the examination of the data supplied for the study of negation.

2.2 MORPHOLOGICAL VS SYNTAX-BASED NEGATION.

2.2.1 Negative Concord

It is only natural that we should start off by referring to concord utterances, since they occur in all lects and for this reason are regarded as unmarked. As pointed out in the preliminary analysis (Cf. p. 41), what is meant here by concord utterance is the non-redundant doubly-negated utterance, in which the first negator is NÃO . Concord utterances are represented in this work by Ele não fez nada.

The universality of negative concord in BP can be observed in the following samples:

- (1) Não há mais nada em pauta. (RFW I - 1 : 3)¹
 'Not there is more nothing in agenda'
 ('There is nothing else in the agenda').
- (2) A página portuguesa não tem nada de característico. (RFW II - 2 : 1)
 'The page Portuguese not has nothing of characteristic'.
 ('Portuguese written texts have no characteristics').
- (3) Ele não tinha nada contra Jane. (RFW III - 1 : 4)
 'He not had nothing against Jane'
 ('He held nothing against Jane').
- (4) Eu não aprendi nada. (RFW IV - 1 : 7)
 'I not learned nothing'
 ('I have not learned anything').
- (5) Não há ninguém ... (WL II - 1 : 1)
 'Not there is nobody ...'
 ('There is no one ...').
- (6) ... condenado a não morrer nunca. (WL III - 3 : 1)
 '... condemned to not die never'
 ('... condemned never to die').
- (7) ... não há perigo de encontrar ninguém ... (WL IV 1 : 2)
 '... not there is danger of meet nobody'
 ('There is no danger of meeting anybody').
- (8) ... e não dizia nada. (WL V - 1 : 1)
 '... and not said nothing'
 ('... and he did not say anything').

1. Portuguese utterances are translated only once. Reappearances will be keyed to previous translations by the indication of page number against each example.

(9) Não existe nada mais lindo. (WL VI - 1 : 11)

'Not exists nothing more beautiful'

('Nothing more beautiful exists').

Utterances (1) to (9) above show that negative concord is neither a social nor a stylistic marker in BP. It does equally well in speaking and writing just as in formal, literary and socially marked varieties. I will therefore take it as a point of reference for the analysis of the socially marked lects.

2.2.2 Negative Preposing and Postverbal ALG

As we have seen, concord utterances alternate with constructions in which the second element of concord is either displaced from its unmarked postverbal position to operate before V (NEG-preposing), or replaced by N + alguma. In the first case NÃO is deleted. This process uncovers one of the three variables on which implicational scales will be constructed i.e. $(+ \text{NÃO}_{\text{pv}})$. The $\text{NEG} \sim \text{ALG}$ alternation, on the other hand, will supply the $(+ \text{ALG})$ variable. The third variable, $(+ \text{NÃO}_{\text{r}})$, will be dealt with later.

Both NEG-preposing and ALG are formality markers in BP. Their occurrence has been found to be strictly confined to the more formal lects. Not a single instance of either has cropped up in the informal varieties represented in the corpus, except in the special cases, themselves revealing, to which we shall shortly turn. The samples given below illustrate the point.

- (10) Morto ele nada vale. (RFW I - 16 : 2)
 'Dead he nothing values'
 ('Dead he is worth nothing').
- (11) Não gerando obrigação de espécie alguma ... (PO I - 1 : 1)
 'Not generating obligation of kind some'
 ('Placing (one) under no obligation')
- (12) O Governo nada faz. (RFW II - 4 : 1)²
 'The Government nothing does'
 ('The Government does not do anything').
- (13) ... nada tenho (PO II - 1 : 1)²
 '... nothing (I) have'.
 ('I did not have anything ...').
- (14) Não tem sentido algum. (PO II - 8 : 1)
 'Not has meaning some'
 ('It is meaningless').

The special cases referred to above are those coded as RFW III - 17:
 1, 2, 3, in which occurrences of preposed NEG are detected in un-
 educated urban speech. They are:

- (15) ... nada eu tenho para fazer para ele.
 '... nothing I have to do for he'
 ('I cannot do anything for him').

2. In both cases, the informant was reproducing a well known play on words: O Governo não faz nada e nada faz and Não tinha nada e nada tenho.

(16) E mais nada posso dizer.

'And more nothing can (I) say'

('I can say nothing more').

(17) Bem, nada eu posso fazer com vós.

'Well, nothing I can do with you' (formal)

('I cannot do anything for you').

I take these utterances to be revealing of the formal status of preposed NEG because they betray an effort of the speaker to retell past experiences and reproduce an educated man's public speech. His selection of vós in (17) is a clear demonstration of his attempts at adjusting language use to topic.

Subsumed under ALG are qualquer 'any' and sequer 'even', both historically positive bimorphemic lexical items. Their syntactic behaviour is similar to that of ALG and so is their lectal distribution. Here are two examples:

(18) ... não têm água sequer para beber. (RFW I - 24 : 1)

'... not (they) have water even to drink'

('They do not even have drinking water').

(19) Porém nos autos não existe qualquer prova. (PO I - 2 : 3)

'However in the files not exists any proof'

('However this cannot be proved from the files').

2.2.3 Preverbal ALG

Constructions in which an ALG-form occurs before V carry us a step further along the acrolectal scale of formality, whether preverbal

ALG is in a marked or unmarked position, i.e. whether it is a preposed verb complement or a subject. As said earlier (Cf. p. 49) preverbal ALG constructions show syntactic negation at its best, since in them negative meaning is realized by purely syntactic means.

Syntactically negated NPs and utterances proved to be external to the native speaker's immediate perceptive competence. Most informants required a broader linguistic context before they could assert the meaningfulness and grammaticality of the utterances presented to them. However, once inserted into a larger stretch of discourse, syntactically negated constructions were readily accepted as negative and well-formed. Let it be said though that comments were not spared as to the extremely formal and emphatic nature of such constructions. Uneducated informants (both semi-literate and illiterate) had serious trouble interpreting the meaning of the syntactically negated utterances, such that they at times interpreted one and the same utterance as positive in one elicitation and negative minutes later. There was one informant who, though not very sure of the meaning of the utterance presented to him, reproduced it fairly fluently following the model offered by the interviewer, except in one aspect: he reinterpreted each negative NP and automatically added to it the plural marker - s. I wonder whether by so doing he was not simply marking the construction as formal. If this proves to be the case, one can hypothesize that a speaker of a socially stigmatized language variety can be sensitive to the sociolinguistic status of a construction typical of a variety not familiar to him, even if he does not perceive its meaning. One possible conclusion to be inferred from this hypothesis is that speakers of mutually incomprehensible lects will belong to the same speech community if they share the same sociolinguistic norms. I wonder whether this is not

good evidence in favour of Bickerton's position about the non-isomorphism of individual and community competence.

The ALG- variants will be placed at the end of the linguistic scale that begins with the morphemically redundant constructions. This position is backed up by the following samples:

- (20) Enquanto nós sequer nos fazíamos ouvir ...(RFW I - 31:1)
'While we even us made hear ...'
('While we could not even be heard ...').

- (21) ... razão alguma há para o pedido ... (PO I - 3:1)
'... reason some there is for the request...'
('... there is no justification for the claim ...').

- (22) De modo algum entrareis no Reino dos Céus. (WL II - 7:1)
'Of mode some (you) will enter in the kingdom of the heaven'.
('Ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven').

- (23) ... coisa alguma é dispensável. (WL III - 6:1)
'... thing some is dispensable'.
('... nothing is dispensable').

- (24) ... homem algum falou assim como este homem. (WL II - 22:1)³
'... man some spoke thus like this man'.
('(Never) man spake like this man').

We have thus far covered the upper half of the scale of formality,

3. As shown in the Appendix, the full utterance reads: nunca homem algum falou assim como este homem. I have deliberately omitted nunca to show that the utterance will remain negative with homem algum standing by itself.

having started as we did from the middle, that is, the mesolect. It is now time for an examination of what goes on in the lower half.

2.3 HIERARCHIES

2.3.1 Redundancy.

As we know, we are not considering constructions of the type ninguém não ajudou nada (PO II - 11:1), 'Nobody not helped nothing', which is an illustration of redundant negative concord. Therefore in order to approach redundancy, which is our step downwards away from the mesolect, we shall leave off the concord utterances for the time being and resort to the singly-negated utterances.⁴ Such utterances differ from the former in that, when reversible, they are at the same time singly- and doubly-negated. As I have chosen to define variants by the nature of the basic unmarked member of the set, I shall describe them as single negative constructions, even when negation is realized by $N\tilde{A}O_{pv} + NEG$. The basic, unmarked construction is that represented by:

- (25) ... sem amor ninguém existiria. (WL VI - 1:2)
'... without love no one would exist'.

Like the concord utterances, (25) is unmarked and spreads itself over a large section of the continuum. It contrasts with (26) and (27), below, the former being strongly marked for formality and the latter heavily stigmatized.

4. When V is an intransitive verb of the vir 'to come' type, these utterances become reversible.

(26) Pessoa alguma (= homem algum) existiria. (Cf. 24)

'Person some would exist'.

('Nobody would exist').

(27) Ninguém não atravessa (não). (PO II - 11:2)

'Nobody not crosses (not)'.

('Nobody crosses (the road) here').

Utterances 25, 26 and 27 can also be rendered in a concord-like type of construction, in which NEG-Subj migrates to postverbal position.

They are:

(28) Não existiria ninguém.

'Not would exist nobody'.

(29) Não existiria pessoa alguma.

'Not would exist person some'.

('Nobody would exist').

(30) Não atravessa ninguém (não).

'Not crosses nobody (not)'.

('Nobody crosses').

Here is another example of redundancy:

(31) Ninguém não sabe ler. (RFW IV - 28:1)

'Nobody not knows (to) read'.

('No one can read').

As we have seen, mesolectal NEG-Subj alternates with ALG-Subj in one direction and with redundant Subj in the other. This means that we are again confronted with the variables (+ ALG) and (+ NÃO). However,

while with the concord constructions it was presence or absence of $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ that brought about variation, in the case in question the variant constructions result from alternation between (\emptyset) and $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_r$.

We are now in a position to establish for the negation system a linguistic hierarchy that will take on the following general configuration: Redundancy/Concord/NEG-preposing/ ALG_{ptv} / ALG_{pv} . Furthermore, we are also entitled, on the strength of the association between linguistic processes and language context just presented, to define a hierarchy of extralinguistic constraints with which the linguistic hierarchy correlates. The resulting sociolinguistic hierarchy will look like this (Cf. pp. 43 and 44).

Socially stigmatized redundancy basilect.

Socially unmarked concord mesolect.

Socially marked ALG-negation acrolect.

It may appear from the above that the basilect is uniformly redundant. Yet the state of affairs within the basilect calls for a hierarchy of redundancy numerically parallel to the alternation that links the mesolect with the acrolect (i.e. NEG-preposing, ALG_{ptv} , ALG_{pv}). This hierarchy of redundancy should not be identified with the degrees of redundancy proposed on page 68, since on the basis of the information we now have available, the $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O/\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O$, $\underline{NEM}/\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O$, $\underline{NUNCA}/\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O$ scale has to be discarded for lack of empirical evidence⁵, to give way to another scale which has emerged in the course of the investigation and to which we now turn.

5. See footnote 9 on page 266.

Redundant negation affects both NEG-Subj ninguém and preverbal NPs $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Nenhum} + \text{N} \\ \text{N} + \text{Nenhum} \end{array} \right\}$ and (nem + NP), though in different ways. As we have seen, (Ninguém + NÃO) is typically basilectal and its variants (Ninguém + ϕ) and (ALG-form + ϕ) are, respectively, mesolectal and acrolectal. Let us now look at the correspondence between the three variant sets by examining the two just introduced.

1. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Nenhum} + \text{N} \\ \text{N} + \text{Nenhum} \end{array} \right\}$

In its socially unmarked version, this NEG-NP takes on either the (N + NEG) format, which is the informal rendering of (N + ALG), therefore synonymous with ninguém, or (NEG + N) (Cf. footnote 8, page 45). The first instance is illustrated by this sample:

(32) Homem nenhum não dá salvação nós não. (RFW IV - 14:1)

'Man none not gives salvation we not'.

('No man can offer salvation'),

in which (homem nenhum + NÃO) is a potential covariant with (homem nenhum + ϕ) and (homem algum).

The second possibility is materialized in the following sample:

(33) Nenhuma canoa não chega até lá. (PO IV - 11:1)

'None canoe not arrives until there'.

('No canoe could get there'),

in which (nenhuma canoa + NÃO) can alternate with (nenhuma canoa + ϕ).

2. Nem + NP (below NP is realized by N):

The linguistically unmarked form of (Nem + NP), as indicated earlier (Cf. 30, 34, pp. 45, 46) is:

As subject:

- (34) Nem todos têm prestígio. (RFW I - 26:1)
'Not even all have prestige'.
('Not everyone enjoys prestige').

As object:

- (35) Lã no Rio eu não tive nem escola. (RFW IV - 22:7)
'There in the Rio I not had not even school'.
('While I was in Rio I did not even attend school').

I shall omit reference, at this point, to any possible acrolectal variant of subject (Nem + N) for lack of empirical support. Though acrolectal object (Nem + N) has an extremely restricted distribution in the system, it has cropped up in a number of utterances. Thus I believe it is worth taking them up, since they reproduce the basic pattern displayed by the concord sentences in general:

- (36) ... não tem água sequer para beber. (RFW I - 24:1)
(p. 112)

- (37) ... nós sequer nos fazíamos ouvir. (RFW I - 31:1)
(p. 114)

Utterance (35) occurs in a version in which D.O. is attracted to pre-verbal position. Similarly to NEG-Compl preposing, this process brings about $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ deletion. Yet unlike it, the resulting utterances alternate with a (+ $N\tilde{A}O_r$) construction. For this reason I suggest that the marked variant be viewed in conjunction with its redundant variant, rather than with the $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ one. Furthermore, while the preposed NEG-Compl construction is felt to be distinctly acrolectal, as we shall see, preposed (Nem + NP) does not carry such strong formality connotations.

In fact, as I shall demonstrate shortly, the redundant variant, regarded as ungrammatical in the case of preposed NEG-Compl, is common ground for basilect and mesolect, thus providing for the gradual merging of one lect into the other. Subject (Nem + NP) also covaries with a redundant construction, yet social judgements on either redundant variant, that is, subject or preposed object (Nem + NP), are not identical. This seems to indicate that social constraint on negative redundancy is stronger on the subject, i.e. it cannot be fully explained in terms of general preverbal position. In the utterances below non-redundant subject and object are shown in contrast with their redundant counterparts:

Subject:

- (38) Nem todos têm prestígio. (RFW I - 26:1)
(Trans. on p. 119)
- (39) Nem ela não mora no meu coração. (PO IV - 9:1)
'Not even she not lives in the my heart'.
('Not even she has a place in my heart').
- (40) Nem tempero na comida não pega. (PO III - 1:1)
'Not even seasoning in the food 'not pick up'.
('Even spices made no impression on the food').
- (41) Nem as bactérias não sobrariam.⁶ (PO I - 4:1)

6. This sample was captured in a public lecture. Subsequently it was confirmed on a personal check, in which the informant was asked whether he would have said, in his lecture, that Nem os astros não sobrariam. In replying, he objected to the word astros 'stars' and corrected the utterance to what it looks like in (41).

This shows that this type of redundancy is not at a level of conscious awareness, and therefore the question might be raised as to whether it qualifies as a social marker in Labov's terms (Cf. 1966: 328 1976b:200). Yet I had an opportunity to test the amount of awareness that goes with the production of each of the three levels of redundancy that we have been dealing with. Results showed that there are degrees of awareness, in the sense that while one redundant construction (e.g. ninguém não veio) has already become socially acknowledged as stigmatized, the other (e.g. nem os astros não sobrariam) will not be noticed until the speaker's (or hearer's) attention is drawn to it. In fact I tested a fairly large number of (Nem + NP) redundant utterances on educated speakers and found that in each case they rejected redundancy, once their attention was drawn to it.

'Not even the bacteria not would be left'.

('Not even the bacteria would survive').

Object:

(42) Nem Cachoeiro eu não conheço. (PO IV - 9:2)

'Not even Cachoeiro I not know'.

('I have not even been to Cachoeiro').

(43) Mas nem isso tem. (RFW II - 21:1)

'But not even this has'.

('But we do not even have this').

(44) Nem a túnica recuses. (WL II - 19:1)

'Not even the tunic refuse'.

('... forbid not to take thy coat also').

As shown above, in both subject and object functions redundant constructions alternate with non-redundant ones, and this alternation spreads itself over such a wide stretch as PO I/PO IV. On the other hand, while non-redundant utterances are typically non-basilectal, they have been detected in the speech of basilectal informants when describing their trade to educated interviewers (Cf. RFW III - 25:1, 2).

As things now stand, the four types of redundant constructions which I have just described can be viewed as four hierarchized points on a scale of redundancy that places ninguém não at the lower end and object (nem + NP) at the upper end:

1. Obj (Nem + NP) + NÃO
2. Subj (Nem + NP) + NÃO
3. Subj (Nenhum + NP) + NÃO
4. Subj (Ninguém + NÃO ~ (NP + nenhum + NÃO)

The structural variants that result from the operation of the (+ N \tilde{A} O) variable are:⁷

5. N \tilde{A} O + V + (nem + NP) \sim (nem + NP) + V \sim (nem + NP) + N \tilde{A} O + V.
6. (nem + NP) + V \sim (nem + NP) + N \tilde{A} O + V.
7. (nenhum + NP) + V \sim (nenhum + NP) + N \tilde{A} O + V.

It will have been noticed that in (1) there is interaction of N \tilde{A} O_r with N \tilde{A} O_{pv}, which is not the case in (2) and (3). This explains the absence of qualification on the variable established.

The linguistic environments where N \tilde{A} O operates are therefore Obj (nem + NP), Subj (nem + NP), Subj (nenhum + NP) and Subj ninguêm. These environments, as we have seen, have been ordered according to the greater or lesser degree of formality of the contexts in which the resulting variants occur. Such a scale of formality, on the other hand, reflects a hierarchy of social constraints within which the choice of a variant is made. Linguistically this hierarchy of social constraints is manifested in a scale of environments which are more or less favourable to the occurrence of N \tilde{A} O.

2.3.1.1 Implicational relations between redundant constructions. It should be clear by now that, once a non-redundancy rule has operated in an environment which is more favourable to redundancy, we can be certain to expect non-redundancy in a less favourable one. This implicational process is at work in the following Table (transcription of texts to follow):

7. The sets of variants will be enlarged if the (+ ALG) variable is made to interact with (+ N \tilde{A} O) in which case sequer will come under the heading of ALG-forms.

TABLE 9. NÃO ~ Ø

	NINGUÉM	NENHUM + N	NEM + NP (S)	NEM + NP (O)
Lect 1	+	+	+	+
Lect 2	x	+	+	+
Lect 3	-	x	+	+
Lect 4	-	-	x	+
Lect 5	-	-	-	x
Lect 6	-	-	-	-

S = Subject

O = Object

+ = categorical presence

x = variable

- = absence

TEXTS:

1. (45) Ninguém não sabe ler (RFW IV - 28:1)
(Trans. on p. 116)
- (46) Homem nenhum não dá salvação nós não. (RFW IV - 14:1)
(Trans. on p. 118)
- (47) Nem uma farmácia não tem. (RFW IV - 26:1)
'Not even a pharmacy not has'.
('There is not even a pharmacy').
- (48) Nem ela não mora no meu coração. (PO IV - 9:1)
(Trans. on p. 120)
2. (49) ... Ninguém às vezes não sabe ... (RFW III - 29:1)
'Nobody at times not knows....'
- (50) Ninguém conhecia ele. (RFW IV - 27:6)
'Nobody knew he'.
('Nobody knew him').

- (51) Nenhuma canoa não chega até lá. (PO IV - 11:1)
(Trans. on p. 118)
- (52) Nem ir lá não gosto. (RFW III - 27:4)
'Not even go there (I) not like'.
('I do not even like to go there').
- (53) Nem um passarinho não vive com fartura. (RFW IV - 25:5)
'Not even a bird not lives with abundance'.
('Not even a bird lives in abundance').
3. (54) Ninguém tem carteira assinada. (PO IV - 12:1)
'Nobody has card signed'.
('No one has an employment card stamped').
- (55) Nenhuma das duas não tem. (PO IV - 11:2)
'Neither of the two not has'.
('Neither of the two have it').
- (56) Mas nenhuma delas estava errada. (RFW II - 5:1)
' But neither of them were wrong'.
- (57) Nem com comida não tem onde gastar. (RFW III - 27:3)
'Not even with food not has where (to) spend'.
('They cannot even buy food locally').
- (58) Nem eu não sei como é que fala. (RFW IV - 25:6)
'Not even I not know how (it) is that (one) says'.
('Even I do not know how to say it').
4. (59) Ninguém vai morar ... (RFW II - 22:3)
'Nobody goes (to) live ...'
('Nobody goes there to live ...').
- (60) Nenhum vendedor ficou de fora. (PO III : 4:1)
'None street vendor stayed of out'.
('None of the street vendors was missed out').
- Nenhuma das menina lá não gosta de ficar servindo. (PO II - 14:1)
'None of the girl there not like of stay serving'.
('None of the girls there like to do the serving').

- (61) Nem tempero na comida não pega. (PO III - 1:1)
(Trans. on p. 120)
- (62) Nem João sabe disso. (PO III - 3:1)
'Not even John knows of this'.
(('Even John does not know about that')).
- (63) Nem Cachoeiro eu não conheço. (PO IV - 9:2)
(Trans. on p. 121)
5. (64) Ninguém quer saber se é realmente fato. (RFW II - 22:1)
'Nobody wants (to) know whether (it) is really (a) fact.'
- (65) Nenhum deles cai no chão ... (WL V - 15:2)
'None of they falls in the ground'.
(('Not one sparrow (of them) falls to the ground')).
- (66) Nenhum outro sacudiu tanto a administração pública.
(RFW I - 34:2)
'None other shook so much the administration public'.
(('No other shook up public administration to the same extent')).
- (67) Nem as bactérias não sobriariam. (PO I - 4:1)
(Trans. on p. 121)
- (68) Mas nem isso tem. (RFW II - 21:1)
(Trans. on p. 121)
6. (69) Ninguém acende uma lâmpada ... (WL V - 16:1)
'No one lights a lamp ...'.
(('No one puts on a light')).
- (70) Nenhum aluno é mais importante do que o seu professor.
(WL V - 15:1)
'No pupil is greater than his master'.
- (71) Nem a Deus temia. (WL II - 19:3)
'Not even to God (he) feared'.
(('... feared not God')).
- (72) Nem a fome o enfraqueceu. (RFW I - 35:1)
'Not even the hunger him weakened'.
(('Not even hunger weakened him')).

Texts 1 and 6, occupying as they do the top and bottom layers of the chart, will of course display acrolectal and basilectal features, respectively, in their full force. This reveals the fact that the redundancy reducing rule has not started to operate in the basilect, while it operates categorically in all environments in the acrolect. In the other lects it systematically goes through a variable stage. I will therefore reserve the terms 'acrolect' and 'basilect' for end varieties such as these. The area in the centre of the table will, of course, be referred to as mesolect. As shown in Table 9, redundancy is most favoured in the (Nem + NP) environment and least favoured with ninguẽm. To use Bailey's terminology (Bailey 1973b : 110-125), this hierarchy of environmental constraints displays an increasing degree of weighting as it goes from (Nem + NP) (heaviest) to ninguẽm (lightest environment). According to Bickerton (1973 : 641) this three-tier segmentation of the continuum represents a step forward in relation to earlier bisystemic studies, in which the mesolect was not incorporated. He also points out that this polysystemic approach looks even more progressive when compared with the monosystemic generativist model. The non-polar systems were first drawn attention to by Alleyne, B. Bailey and De Camp, who have thus laid greater emphasis on the dynamic nature of language.

2.3.1.2 : Extralinguistic implications of the pattern displayed in Table 9. The pattern of distribution set forth in Table 9. for the variable $N\tilde{A}O \sim \emptyset$ will lead us to the construction of a sequence of utterances in which the two alternants are rank-ordered in accordance with their hierarchized environments. Real utterances are now offered:

1. (73) Mas nem isso tem. (RFW II - 21:1)
(Trans. on p. 121)

- (74) Nem as bactérias não sobriariam. (PO I - 4:1)
(Trans. on p. 121)
2. (75) Nem todos têm prestígio. (RFW I - 26:1)
(Trans. on p. 119)
- (76) Nem eu não sei como é que fala. (RFW IV - 24:6)
(Trans. on p. 124)
3. (77) Nenhum deputado ... criticou o secretário ... (RFW I - 34:1)
'No deputy criticized the secretary'.
- (78) Nenhuma canoa não chega até lá. (PO IV - 11:1).
(Trans. on p. 118)
4. (79) Ninguém conhecia ele. (RFW IV - 4:14)
(Trans. on p. 123)
- (80) Ninguém não sabe ler. (RFW IV - 28:1)⁸
(Trans. on p. 116)

As indicated by the coded reference, (76) and (78) are samples of uneducated speech, and the contextual distance between either and its non-redundant counterpart is equal to that separating educated from uneducated speech. Similarly, (80) is associated with a level IV speech context, though in this case the non-redundant variant also co-occurs in context IV. As for 1, the reverse is the case: the educated vs uneducated alternation does not operate there, but, unlike IV, both the redundant and non-redundant variants co-occur in educated speech.

8. I am here dealing with semantically different structural variants, since it would be too idealistic to hope to find in any corpus of data a complete inventory of semantically identical grammatical variants. In the conclusion to this chapter I shall select one utterance per structural type and develop a set of semantic variants on the basis of it.

Obviously, the alternation between (73) and (74) on the one hand, and (79) and (80) on the other, within the same speech level or area, should not conceal the fact that such levels are abstractions in themselves and their validity as descriptive tools can only be derived from the oppositions into which they enter. In the case in question there is of course no educated/uneducated alternation at work, but one is not to assume that the two members of each pair are socially identical. Under closer scrutiny, RFW IV would have to branch off so as to show the distance that goes between (79) and (80), and utterances (73) and (74) will be viewed as acrolectal varieties. One more point: redundant utterances (76), (78) and (80), as additional exemplification will show (see Appendix), are confined to the basilect, whereas (74) has a far wider distribution. A parallel analysis will point to (79) as the socially broadest variant, in opposition to (73) which is the most restricted of all.

The following rule accounts for the phenomena just described:

$$\text{n\~ao} \longrightarrow (\emptyset) \quad / \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nem} + \text{NP} \quad (\text{Obj}) \\ \text{nem} + \text{NP} \quad (\text{Subj}) \\ \text{nenhum} + \text{N} \\ \text{ningu\~em} \end{array} \right\} \text{-----} \text{V},$$

in which the ordered environments represent a hierarchy of constraints.

The evidence so far supplied for the redundant and non-redundant system of negation is, I think, sufficient to support the claim that we are dealing with a continuum. In the next pages we shall take a further step along the scale of singly-negated utterances and take up the concord \sim non-concord variants to look for further evidence.

2.3.2 Cõncord.

2.3.2.1 Singly-negated utterances:

We shall begin by looking at the singly-negated variants which have not been covered in the previous section. For ease of exposition, we shall take up, one by one, the structural types listed on page 121 and examine the ways in which the continuum expands to accommodate the remaining members of the set. Let us then take the first construction.

i. Obj (Nem + NP) + NÃO

(81) Lã no Rio eu não tive nem escola. (RFW IV - 22:7)
(Trans. on p. 119)

(82) Não tem água sequer para beber. (RFW I - 24:1)
(Trans. on p. 112)

(83) Enquanto nã^s sequer nos fazã^samos ouvir. (RFW I - 31:1)
(Trans. on p. 114)

This series is a comprehensive account of variation in the unmarked structural type NÃO + V + NEM. As sources indicate, sequer is a hyper-acrolectal form. It bears a unique relation to context I, since it is never found elsewhere. Yet as with RFW IV (see page 128), RFW I ought to undergo a sub-classification in order to show the distance between (82) and (83). (81) has a wide distribution, like (79) (see Appendix for confirmation).

At this point we have to discriminate between the 82/83 as opposed to the 81/82 and 81/83 relations. The former is a straightforward result of the operation of the (+ NÃO) variable, but the latter operates

on other grounds. In view of our earlier decision (Cf. pp. 52, 53) to approach such negators as sequer as syntactic variants and therefore as members of the ALG class, we shall refer to the sequer ~ nem alternation as a manifestation of the (+ ALG) variable. We shall then establish, for the first set of structural types, the following hierarchy:

- a. Nós sequer nos fazíamos ouvir.
- b. Não tem água sequer para beber.
- c. Nem isso tem.
- d. Lá no Rio eu não tive nem escola.
- e. Nem as bactérias não sobrariam.

(Trans. on pp. 114, 112, 121, 119 and 121)

Utterances a, b and d will be taken up again as members of the ALG (a) and concord (b and d) classes, and only then will they be viewed as steps in an implicational scale which will be constructed around the (+ NÃO_{pv}) and (+ ALG) variables.

ii. Subj (Nem + NP) + NÃO:

This is a non-reversible construction-type in which nem does not alternate with sequer. The set is therefore restricted to the two samples given on page 120 (items 38 and 39) in that order.

iii. Subj (Nenhum + N) + NÃO:

Theoretically,⁹ in both (77) and (78) the negative morpheme nenhum can

9. In 78 the NENHUM ~ ALGUM alternation will meet with a problem. Since it is a redundant utterance and therefore basilectal, whereas algum is acrolectal, the lectal clash which is implicit in the alternation will render the utterance socially unacceptable. I refer to this lectal clash on page 57, and later on, on page 221, I supply evidence from the judgement test.

alternate with algum. As we have seen (Cf. p. 30), the occurrence of algum will require Det + N inversion, as shown by the following sample..:

Deputado algum criticou o secretário.

'Deputy some criticized the secretary'.

The hierarchy of formality for construction type iii will take this shape:

1. Deputado algum criticou o secretário.
2. Nenhum deputado criticou o secretário.
3. Nenhuma canoa não chega até lá.

(2 and 3 are translated on pages 127 and 118)

iv. Subj Ninguém + NÃO:

Like (nenhum + N) ninguém appears on page 127 in non-reversible utterances.

This of course rules out the reversible variants of the construction and limits the size of the set to 3:

1. Homem algum falou assim como este homem .
2. Ninguém conhecia ele.
3. Ninguém não sabe ler.

(Trans. on pp. 114, 123 and 116)

The (nenhum + N) and ninguém reversible utterances have not been set up as independent classes in 3 and 4, on page 127, because their redundant and non-redundant variants are well represented in 3, and their concord alternants will be dealt with below. They will be given an implicational treatment together with d, above (Cf. p. 130).

Before we look into the doubly-negated utterances, let us tackle the concord variants of singly-negated constructions just discussed.

These are reversible constructions that are structured, in one of their versions, like the standard NÃO/NEG-Compl utterances. Each of them displays a similar pattern of variation to that observed for the concord sentences, as demonstrated below:

Singly-negated

1. Ninguém chegou
2. Ninguém não chegou
3. Não chegou ninguém
4. Não chegou pessoa alguma.
5. Pessoa alguma chegou.

Doubly-negated:

1. Ele nada fez
- 2.(?)Ele nada não fez.
3. Ele não fez nada.
4. Ele não fez coisa alguma
5. Coisa alguma ele fez.

It should be noted, though, that this correspondence is neither syntactic nor strictly stylistic. It is rather the result of parallel mechanisms acting upon the ordering of the elements in the surface structure of the sentence. However, I find that this parallelism is sufficient justification for the treatment of basically singly-negated 3 and 4 as concord utterances, at least for purposes of implicational scaling. But we should be aware of the fact that we are in effect dealing with singly-negated utterances and it is as such that they will be grouped:

Ninguém (es)tava sabendo (RFW V - 9:1)

'Nobody was knowing'.

Não (es)tava ninguém sabendo.

'Not was nobody knowing'..

Não (es) tava pessoa alguma sabendo.

'Not was person some knowing'.

Pessoa alguma (es) tava sabendo.

'Person some was knowing'.

('Nobody had any knowledge of it') (translates all).

We have already learned (Cf. texts 1 to 6, pp. 123 to 125 and sets 3 and 4, p. 127) that redundancy is basilectal and ALG-forms-only are typically acrolectal or hyper-acrolectal. Now, if we submit the above set to the same principles, we shall come up with the following hierarchy:

1. Ninguém não estava sabendo.
2. Ninguém estava sabendo.
3. Não estava ninguém sabendo.
4. Não estava pessoa alguma sabendo.
5. Pessoa alguma estava sabendo.

Here the central part of the hierarchy is filled out by utterances that are non-redundant and that each contain at least one negative morpheme. Their sociolinguistic significance will be more clearly noted when we deal with the attitude test and, since the set combines three different variables (+ NÃO_r), (+ NÃO_{pv}), (+ Morphological negation (= MORPHNEG)), we shall not deal with its full implicational patterning until the three variables are sorted out and other construction types are fully handled.

2.3.2.2 Doubly-negated utterances.

Our decision to leave out of this analysis concord utterances of the ninguém/nada type (e.g. Ninguém fez nada) has blocked the incorporation

of constructions such as Ninguém não fez nada, which are instances of redundant concord. Had we decided to include those redundant utterances in this study, we would have had the advantage of dealing with redundancy within the concord system. On the other hand, we would miss out the whole range of linguistic phenomena which have been uncovered by the analysis of the singly-negated utterances.

When we define concord as a NÃO + V + NEG sequence, we do so at the expense of increasing the degree of abstraction of the analysis by identifying processes, not necessarily grammatical forms, across the hierarchy of negative syntactic operations. What I mean to say is that, as we move along from redundancy to concord, we are in fact jumping between two separate sub-systems, i.e. from a singly- to a doubly-negated system. What proceeds in a continuous way is the redundancy \sim concord alternation. Here is how it goes:

Let us illustrate with a reversible Ninguém-utterance, by presenting it in its non-redundant, redundant, and concord alternations.

Ninguém chegou \sim ninguém não chegou \sim não chegou ninguém.

Now let us compare the above series with:

Ele não fez nada,

which is the unmarked variant in the concord series. By now we know that ninguém não chegou is unmistakably basilectal. However, we have not yet decided whether it is Ninguém chegou or Não chegou ninguém that is the unmarked variant in the ninguém series. At a first glance, it

would appear that Não chegou ninguém is marked and Ninguém chegou is unmarked, syntactically at least. Yet the results of the attitude test (Cf. p. 259) reveal that the former is as unmarked as the latter in social opinion. It is in fact comparable to unmarked Ele não fez nada. So we notice that when redundancy gives way to non-redundancy in the ninguém-series, variation converges to unmarked concord, of which doubly-negated Ele não fez nada is a case. We now turn to the establishment of a hierarchy of concord.

The following samples indicate, by their sources, the sociolinguistic value of NÃO + V + NEG concord utterances and their variants. We shall sub-classify postverbal NEG under two headings:

1. Negative Object;
2. Negative Adverb.

NEGATIVE OBJECT.

a) NÃO + V + NEG-Obj

- (84) O Governo não está fazendo nada. (RFW I - 1:6)
'The Government not is doing nothing'.
- (85) Não tem nada de típico. (RFW II - 2:2)
'Not has nothing of typical'.
('It has nothing typical').
- (86) A gente não cobrava nada. (RFW III - 1:6)
'The folk not charged nothing'.
('We did not charge anything').

- (87) Ele não dava nada pros filhos. (PO IV - 1:1)
 'He not gave nothing for the children'.
 ('He did not give (me) anything for the children').
- (88) Eu não conheço nada lá. (RFW IV - 1:3)
 'I not know nothing there'.
 ('I have not been anywhere there').
- (89) ... não há perigo de encontrar ninguém. (WL IV - 1:2)
 '... not there is danger of meet nobody'.
 ('... there is no danger of meeting anybody').
- (90) Não existe nada mais lindo. (WL VI - 1:11)
 (Trans. p. 110)
- (91) Não tenho sonho nenhum a realizar. (PO II - 9:2)
 'Not (I) have dream none to fulfil'.
 ('I have no dreams to fulfil').

b) NEG Obj + V:

- (92) Morto ele nada vale. (RFW I - 16:2)
- (93) O Governo nada faz. (RFW II - 4:1)
 (Both trans. on page 111)
- (94) E mais nada posso dizer. (RFW III - 17:2)
 (Trans. on p. 112)
- (95) ... nada tenho. (PO II - 5:1)
 'Nothing (I) have.'
- (96) Nada apanhamos. (WL II - 9:7)
 'Nothing (we) caught'.
 ('We have caught nothing').
- (97) ... a universidade quase nada oferece. (WL IV - 7:5)
 '... the university almost nothing offers'.
 ('... the university offers hardly anything').
- (98) Nenhuma culpa acho neste homem. (WL II - 20:1)
 'No fault (I) find in this man'.
 ('... (I) have found no fault in this man').

c) NÃO + V + ALG-Obj:

- (99) ... não infringe qualquer dispositivo constitucional.
(RFW I - 22:3)
'... not infringes any constitutional clauses'.
('Neither does it infringe any part of the constitution').
- (100) Não respondes coisa alguma ...? (WL II - 24:1)
'(You) not answer thing some ...?'
('Answerest thou nothing ...?').
- (101) ... não têm qualquer valor jurídico. (WL IV - 12:1)
'... not (they) have any value juridical'.
('... they do not have any legal value').
- (102) ... não nos é lícito matar pessoa alguma. (WL II - 15:1)
'Not us (it) is lawful (to) kill person some'.
('It is not lawful for us to put any man to death').
- (103) Não tenho homem algum ... (WL II - 13:2)
'(I) not have man some ...'
('I have no man ...').
- (104) Não tem sentido algum. (PO II - 8:1)
(Trans. on p. 111)

d) ALG-Obj + V:

... razão alguma há para o pedido ... (PO I - 3:1)
(Trans. on p. 114)

NEGATIVE ADVERB

e) NÃO + V + NEG-Adv:

- (105) Isso não vem empanar de maneira nenhuma o brilho ...
(RFW I - 19:1)
'This not comes outshine of manner none the brilliancy ...'
('This in no way detracts from the brilliance ...').

- (106) Eu não o provoco nunca. (PO II - 10:1)
 'I not him provoke never'.
 ('I never provoke him').
- (107) Não tinha colégio em parte nenhuma. (RFW III - 22:1)
 'Not had school in part none'.
 ('There were no schools anywhere').
- (108) Não esqueço nunca da vida dessa família. (RFW IV - 23:1)
 'Not (I) forget never of the life of that family'.
 ('I can never forget how that family lived').
- (109) Não quis ficar de jeito nenhum. (PO IV - 7:1)
 'Not (he) wanted stay of manner none'.
 ('He did not want to stay on any account').
- (110) Eu não queria casar de jeito nenhum. (RFW IV - 21:3)
 'I not wanted get married of manner none'.
 ('I did not want to get married on any account').

f) NEG-Adv + V:

- (111) De modo nenhum te acontecerá isso. (WL II - 8:1)
 'Of mode none you will-happen this'.
 ('This shall not be unto thee').
- (112) Eu por brincadeira nenhuma eu me bato. (RFW III - 24:1)
 'I for trifle none I me fight'.
 ('I will not fight for nothing').
- (113) ... em nome de nenhum pretexto poderiam receber o vil
 tratamento. (WL IV : 11:1)
 'In name of none pretext (they) would be able receive
 the evil treatment'.
 ('Under no pretext should they be subjected to such
 vile treatment').

g) NÃO + V + ALG-Adv:

- (114) E não podia de modo algum endireitar-se. (WL II - 16:1)
 'And (she) not could of mode some straighten herself'.
 ('... and could in nowise lift up herself').

(115) Não me censuro de maneira alguma. (WL IV - 8:1)

'(I) not me censor of manner some'.

('In no way will I indulge in self-recrimination').

h) ALG-Adv +V:

(116) De modo algum entrareis no reino dos céus. (WL II - 7:1)

(Trans. on p. 114)

(117) ... em momento algum houve pressão contra o delegado. (WL IV - 6:2)

'In moment some there was pressure against the delegate'.

('At no time was pressure put on the prison governor').

The above shows that there is no social constraint on the occurrence of NÃO + V + NEG, since it is present at all contextual levels as well as in speech and writing. This confirms the idea that this type of utterance is socially unmarked.

As said earlier (Cf. p. 115), each set of variants is defined by the grammatical shape of its unmarked constituent. This is the reason why utterances (92) to (104) and (111) to (117) have been grouped under concord, which is the characteristic of the unmarked utterances (84) to (91) and (105) to (110). Concord is therefore temporarily extended to apply to a process by which negation is expressed twice in surface structure. (For our original definition see page 41). This has prompted me to establish two types of double negation: one is realized by concord as defined on page 41; the other rests in part or entirely on syntactic devices. When necessary, I shall resort to this distinction, in which case I shall refer to the former as concord (proper), while the latter will be subsumed under the general label of doubly-negated.

These doubly-negated patterns are illustrated below by utterances attested in the data. In order to avoid bringing in an excessive number of Portuguese utterances, I shall choose from the examples on pages 135 to 139.

1. NEG Compl + Compl preposing:

O Governo nada faz.

(Compare: O Governo não faz nada.)

(Trans. on p. 111)

De nenhum modo te acontecerá isso.

(Compare: Não te acontecerá isso de modo nenhum.)

(Trans. on p. 138)

2. NÃO + ((Det + N) inversion):

Não respondes coisa alguma?

(Compare: Não respondes alguma coisa?)

(Trans. on p. 137)

E não podia de modo algum endireitar-se.

(Compare: E de algum modo não podia endireitar-se)

(Trans. on p. 138)

3. Não + historically positive form:

... não infringe qualquer dispositivo constitucional.

(Compare: ... não infringe nenhum dispositivo constitucional.)

(Trans. on p. 137)

4. NP Compl preposing + Compl (DET + N) inversion:

... razão alguma há para o pedido.

(Compare: alguma razão há para o pedido.)

(Trans. on p. 114)

5. Em momento algum houve pressão contra o delegado.

(Compare: Em algum momento houve pressão contra o delegado.)

(Trans. on p. 139)

Example 4, above, is another illustration of what I have called syntax-based negation (= SYNEG) (Cf. p.49). In it negative meaning is conveyed by means of two syntactic devices: (1) the transposition of the complement to preverbal position (with the consequent deletion of $\tilde{N\tilde{A}O}_{pv}$), and (2) the occurrence, in alternation with NEG, of a NP in which two positive morphemes are made to express negation by the inversion of the order in which they normally occur in the language as carriers of positive meaning. In 2 a combination of morphological and syntactic negation is at work, while 3 confirms that morphological negation tends gradually to go out of the system as contexts become more formal.

Now, if we take a closer look at constructions (84) to (117) we shall notice that their pattern of variation involves the operation of two variables: (1) $\tilde{N\tilde{A}O}_{pv} \sim \emptyset$, and (2) $MORPHNEG \sim SYNEG$.

The first variable accounts for such alternations as represented by sets $a \sim b$ and $e \sim f$ on the one hand, and $c \sim d$ and $g \sim h$ on the other. Structural variation of this type can be formalized as follows:

$$\tilde{N\tilde{A}O} + V + NEG-Obj \sim NEG-Obj + V$$

This alternation is further exemplified below in the following pairs of semantically identical variants:

1. Eu não tenho nada \sim Eu nada tenho.
2. Eu não tenho coisa alguma \sim Eu coisa alguma tenho.

The operation of the second variable produces alternations such as those shown by the constructions in sets $a \sim c$, $e \sim g$, and $b \sim d$, $f \sim h$.

It is also visible in variants 1 and 2 above, if we rearrange them so as

to make the pattern of variation more conspicuous:

3. Eu não tenho nada ~ Eu não tenho coisa alguma.

4. Eu nada tenho ~ Eu coisa alguma tenho.

This MORPHNEG ~ SYNEG alternation manifests itself in the following general variant: NEG ~ ALG.

2.3.3 Nunca ~ jamais ~ em tempo algum.

The presence of (106) (p.138) in the set of adverbial variants calls for some clarification. The negative adverb nunca alternates with jamais and em tempo algum, the former being historically positive and the latter syntactically negative. The sentence structures observed for the nunca ~ jamais ~ em tempo algum alternation follow the same pattern as that just disclosed for the reversible singly-negated utterances, with one addition: NÃO + V + nunca alternates with Ø + V + nunca, as in:

(118) Ele veio aqui nunca ... (PO III - 2:1) ¹⁰

'He came here never'.

('He has never come here').

If this additional variant is taken as a clue to a more general principle, we shall have to recognize a NÃO-deletion process which is both linguistically and contextually different from that discussed on page 48. Other manifestations of the same principle are:

With NEG-Obj:

10. A similar construction appears with a star in Fiad (1975 : 16, 35).

1. Ele disse alguma coisa? Não, disse nada.
'He said some thing? No, (he) said nothing'.
('Did he say anything? No, he did not say anything').

With reversible singly-negated utterances:

- (119) Saiu foi ouro nenhum. (WL III - 4:1)
'Came out was gold none'.
('It yielded no gold at all').

With NEG-Adv:

2. Você saiu ontem à noite? Não, fui a lugar nenhum.
'You went out yesterday at night? No, (I) went to
place none'.
('Did you go out last night? No, I did not go any-
where').
- (120) Mas ele pouco me ajuda, ajuda nada. (RFW IV - 7:4)
'But he little me helps, (he) helps nothing'.
('But he gives me little help, in fact no help at all').

Though (119) is a written sample and (118) is associated with educated speech, it is quite clear from the contexts to which they are traced that, while they are non-basilectal, they also correlate with the informal end of the mesolect. (118) was drawn from a very casual and emotionally loaded conversation between close friends, and (119) was spotted in a children's book (Cf. Recreio No. 361, p. 9).

What these utterances are displaying is a reduction of double negation. Interestingly enough, it is only at this point that the overall language system undergoes a radical structural change, since here we are confronted with a phenomenon that might be safely termed simplification,

i.e. the alternation of double with single negation¹¹ (Cf. p. 86).

Just as nada alternates with coisa alguma and nem with sequer, nunca alternates with jamais and em tempo algum. Word order patterns parallel those already established for NEG-Obj and NEG-Adv:

a) Preverbal nunca.

(120) Eu nunca saí da minha linha. (RFW I - 27:3)

'I never went out of the my line'.

('I have never stepped out of line').

(121) Os nossos escritores nunca souberam escrever a sua língua. (RFW II - 23:1)

'The our writers never knew write the their language'.

('Our writers never knew how to use their own language').

(122) Ele nunca bebeu antes de casar. (PO IV - 13:1)

'He never drank before of marry'.

('He never drank before he married').

(123) Nunca esqueci. (RFW V - 10:1)

'(I) have never forgotten'.

(124) Na minha banda de Congo nunca houve desafio.

(RFW III - 30:1)

'In the my band of Congo never there was musical repartee'.

('There never was a musical repartee between members of my Congo band').

(125) O cavalo nunca falou. (RFW IV - 30:13)

'The horse never spoke'.

('It has never been known for a horse to speak').

11. An alternative analysis might be suggested for (118), i.e. the occurrence of nunca in postverbal position could be seen as the result of a reordering transformation effected on Ele nunca veio aqui. However, I have opted for the first interpretation for its comprehensiveness.

b) Postverbal nunca:

- (126) ... condenado a não morrer nunca, nunca. (WL III - 3:1)
(Trans. on p. 109)
- (127) Eu não o provoco nunca. (PO II - 10:1)
(Trans. on p. 138)
- (128) Não esqueço nunca da vida dessa família. (RFW IV - 23:1)
(Trans. on p. 138)
- (129) Não apareça mais nunca aqui. (RFW IV - 23:2)
'Not (you) appear more never here'.
('Do not ever come back here anymore').

c) Preverbal jamaís:

- (130) Jamaís se esperava receber luz em Jatiboca. (RFW I - 15:3)
'Never one expected receive light in Jatiboca'.
('One would never have expected electricity to reach Jatiboca').
- (131) Jamaís perderei a minha personalidade ... (RFW I - 15:5)
'Never (I) will lose the my personality ...'
('I will never change my personality').
- (132) Nem jamaís haverá. (WL II - 6:1)
'Not even ever there will be'.
('... neither shall be').
- (133) Devo confessar que jamaís vi o nome descrever uma pessoa tão bem. (WL III - 1:1).
'(I) must confess that (I) never saw the name described one person so well'.
('I must confess that I have never heard of such an appropriate name for a person').

d) Postverbal jamaís:

1. Não voltará jamaís. (WL III - 2:1)
'Not (he) will come back never'.
('He will never come back').

Em tempo algum may occur in a stereotyped adverbial sequence, for emphasis. The other members of the sequence are nunca and jamais:

- (134) Mamãe nunca jamais em tempo algum foi daquele jeito.
(RFW II - 24:1)

'Mum never ever in time some was of that way'.

('Mother has never been like that').

- (135) N.C.? Discorreu sobre? Jamais em tempo algum.
(RFW II - 17:1)

'N.C.? What did he talk about? Never'.

This mechanism finds a correspondent in English 'never, ever'.

'I have never, ever spotted it'.

Yet in BP emphasis is achieved through a gradual increase in formality.

I think that the above sequence accounts for the sociolinguistic value of the three variants. However, a distinction must be made between the a and b nunca-utterances, on the one hand, and their corresponding Obj- utterances (Cf. b, p. 136) on the other, i.e. preverbal nunca is, as one can see from the sources indicated, as universal as postverbal nunca, whereas fronted NEG-Obj is restricted to the educated varieties; it is concord NÃO + V + NEG-Obj that spans wider lectal areas. NEG-Adv NP, it turn, is closer to NEG-Obj in sociolinguistic patterning. These problems will be further discussed when we take up the description of the subjective attitude test. For the moment, I will just add that it looks as though the establishment of the unmarked forms, in each case, will determine the direction of the analysis and thus offer a linguistic basis for the social judgements that emerge from the experiment.

2.3.4 Summary.

We are now in a position to look at the full range of negative utterances so far examined, and observe the morphological and syntactic patterns of variation displayed by them. The utterances that we have dealt with fall into two classes:

1. reversible singly-negated.
2. doubly-negated.

1. The first class of utterances have been taken up to demonstrate redundancy, and redundancy was defined as a (NEG + NÃO) sequence to the left of the verb. Redundant utterances alternate with non-redundant and doubly-negated ones. They correlate with uneducated speech and are therefore basilectal. Yet some linguistic environments favour redundancy more than others, the most favourable being the step into lects higher up in the sociolinguistic hierarchy. This differential action of the environments led us to the establishment of a hierarchy of environmental constraints.

2. The unmarked alternant in this class is here formalized as NÃO + V + NEG, in which NEG is obligatorily a negative morpheme, i.e. negation is expressed by morphological means only, in opposition to (a) the mixed construction, which combines both morphological and syntactic processes, and (b) the purely syntactic one, in which morphology is not resorted to for the conveyance of negative meaning. NEG can be either an object or an adverbial. Concord comprehends both reversible singly-negated and doubly-negated utterances. In both cases it is associated with the mesolect, as opposed to the acrolectal

syntactically negative constructions. The mixed construction marks the point where the two areas overlap. Here is a formalized account of the systems just described:

A - Reversible singly-negated non-redundant variants and doubly-negated utterances:

General rules:

1. Concord:

$$V \longrightarrow \text{NÃO} + V \quad \text{---} \quad \text{NEG}_{\text{ptv}}$$

2. MORPHNEG \sim SYNEG:

$$\text{NEG} \longrightarrow \text{ALG} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NÃO} + V \text{ ---} \\ \text{---} V \end{array} \right\}$$

3. NÃO-deletion-without-cost:

$$\text{NÃO} + V \longrightarrow V \quad \text{---} \quad \text{NEG}_{\text{ptv}}$$

If it turns out that this process of NÃO-deletion is a general one, affecting both double-NÃO and concord utterances, rule 3 will take on the following shape:

$$4. \text{NÃO} + V \longrightarrow V \quad \text{---} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NEG}_{\text{ptv}} \\ \text{NÃO}_{\text{ptv}} \end{array} \right\}$$

B - Reversible singly-negated utterances (redundant variants):

$$\text{NÃO}_r \sim \emptyset$$

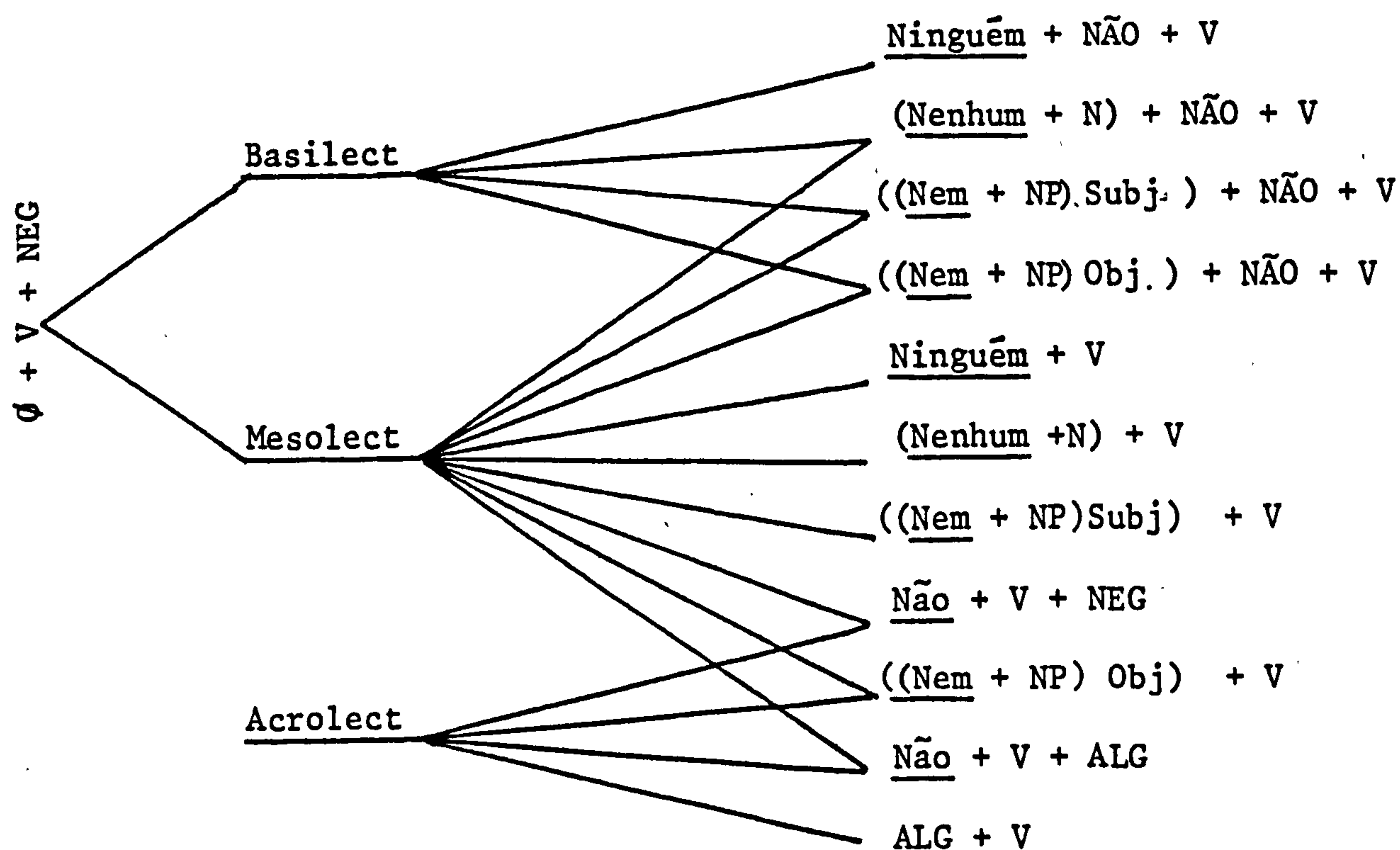
(+ redundancy):

$$1. \text{NÃO}_r \longrightarrow (\emptyset) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ninguém} \\ \text{nenhum} + \text{NP} \\ \text{nem} + \text{NP (Subj)} \\ \text{nem} + \text{NP (Obj)} \end{array} \right\} \text{---} V$$

Below, the structural variants represented by the reversible singly-negated and the doubly-negated utterances are rank-ordered by reference to their correlation with social context. In compliance with our original decision we have set up three main lectal levels, i.e., basilect, mesolect and acrolect, to account for the correlation between the negative variants and their context of use. The hierarchies thus obtained will take this shape:

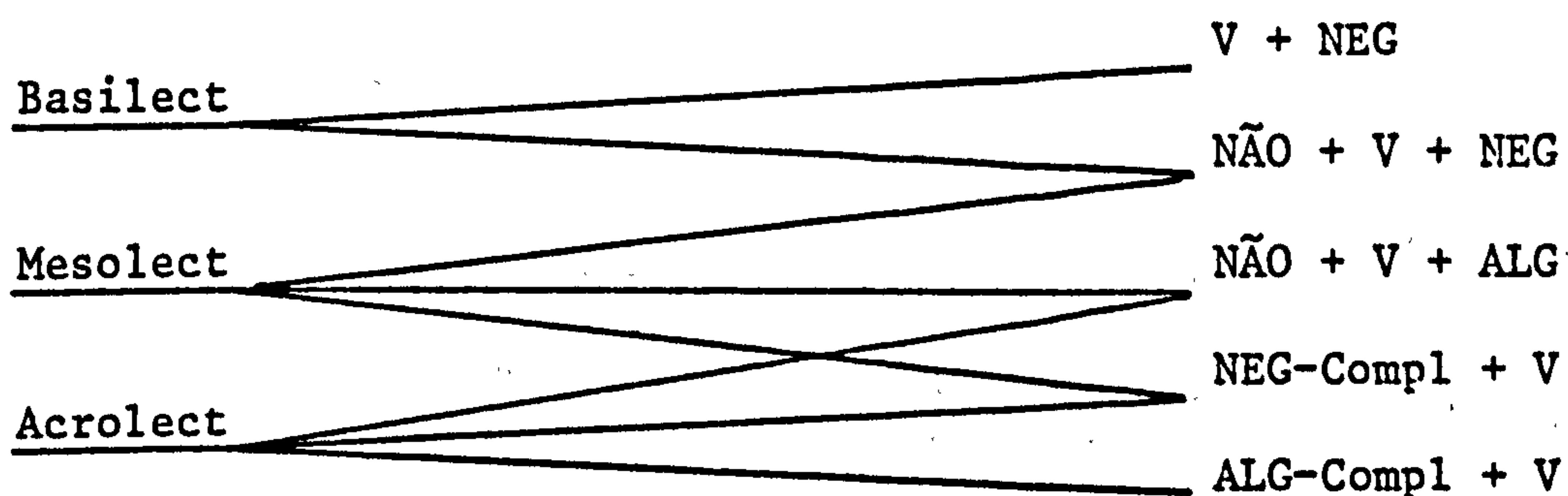
Reversible singly-negated utterances:

FIGURE 6. STRUCTURAL HIERARCHY OF NEGATION: REDUNDANT TO SYNTAX BASED



Doubly-negated utterances:

FIGURE 7. STRUCTURAL HIERARCHY OF NEGATION: NÃO-DELETED SINGLE TO DOUBLE SYNTAX BASED



On page 123 an implicational scale was set up for the reversible singly-negated utterances, to show the various degrees of constraint exercised by four linguistic environments on the presence or absence of redundant NÃO. Also, that scale was intended to show that the forms scaled are related implicationally, i.e. the presence of a form at one point implies that it will be present at certain other points. Table 10, below, shows the reversible singly-negated alternations which are not covered by Table 9 (p. 123). It should be noticed that basically singly-negated utterances can alternate with the following types of constructions: (1) redundant (Cf. Table 9), (2) doubly-negated, following the linguistic patterns set up in Tables 11 and 12, and (3) with NÃO-deletion-without-cost, as in Table 10, below.

TABLE 10. SINGLY-NEGATED UTTERANCES

Nãopv ~ ø		
P O S T V E R B A L		
Ninguém	Nenhum + N	Nem + NP
+	+	+
x	+	+
-	x	+
-	-	x
-	-	-

+ = categorical presence
 x = variable
 - = categorical absence.

The patterns of variation of the concord and doubly-negated ALG utterances are displayed in the following Tables:

TABLE 11. CONCORD

Marked ~ Unmarked NEG NEG		
NEM + NP	NEG ADVL	NEG D.O.
1	1	1
12	1	1
2	12	1
2	2	12
2	2	2

1 = (+ NÃO_{pv}) - (NEG-preposing)

2 = (- NÃO_{pv}) + (NEG-preposing)

TABLE 12. DOUBLY-NEGATED

Marked ALG ~ Unmarked ALG				
ALG ADVL	D.O. (N + ALGUM)	D.O. COISA ALGUMA	Subj (N + ALGUM)	Subj PESSOA ALGUMA
1	1	1	1	1
12	1	1	1	1
2	12	1	1	1
2	2	12	1	1
2	2	2	12	1
2	2	2	2	12
2	2	2	2	2

1. (+ NÃO_{pv}) - (ALG-preposing)

2. (- NÃO_{pv}) + (ALG-preposing)

Table 13, below, specifies the implicational relationships that hold between NEG and ALGs in doubly-negated utterances where they function as objects or adverbials:

TABLE 13. IMPLICATIONAL SCALE SHOWING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NEG AND ALG AS ADVL AND D.O.

NEG \sim ALG	
ADVL	D.O.
1	1
12	1
2	12
2	2

1 = NEG

2 = ALG

2.4 GENERIC VS SPECIFIC NEG-NP

One feature has been introduced in Table 12 which has not been discussed yet. This is the implicational relationship between the variants in two pairs of columns, the second and third, as well as the fourth and fifth columns. Since the kind of relationship between the members of each pair comes to the same, we shall treat them as one, i.e. as alternation between N_s (= Noun specific) and N_g (= Noun generic) in the NEG-NP. The way in which the two types of NP are hierarchized only became apparent towards the end of the analysis, and this is the reason why the discussion of the problem has been delayed. However, it is quite clear from the examples listed below that ALG-negation is meso-acrolectal when N is specific, while (N_g + Det) is acrolectal (more

precisely hyper-acrolectal). In fact, grammatical function also seems to be a determining factor in this question, since ALG-Obj has been detected in casual conversational style whereas the samples which I have gathered of ALG-Subj are largely confined to the standard biblical text. The few occurrences of ALG-Subj outside the Bible correlate with hyper-formal uses, such as literary prose, and even there ALG-Subj is (-animate). Here are a few examples of the N_g / N_s contextual correlation:

I - In WL II¹²

- N_s + algum: (136) A esta geração não se dará sinal algum. (WL II - 11:1)
 'To this generation not one will give sign some'.
 ('There shall be no sign given to this generation
- (137) Não acho culpa alguma neste homem. (WL II - 11:5)
 '(I) not find fault some in this man'.
 ('I find ^{no} to fault in this man').
- (138) Não fez diferença alguma entre eles e nós. (WL II - 11:10)
 '(It) not made difference some between they and we'.
 ('And put no difference between us and them').
- (139) Não fiz agravo algum aos Judeus. (WL II - 11:13)
 '(I) not made aggravation some to the Jews'.
 ('To the Jews have I done no wrong').
- N_g + algum: (140) E não ousaram perguntar-lhe mais coisa alguma.
 (WL II - 24:4)
 'And (they) not dared ask him more thing some'.
 ('And ... they durst not ask him any questions at all').
- (141) Não tem feito coisa alguma digna de morte.
 (WL II - 24:5)
 'Not (he) has made thing some worthy of death'.
 ('... nothing worthy of death is done unto him').

12. See Appendix 4 for further exemplification.

- (141) Não tem feito coisa alguma digna de morte.
(WL II - 24:5)
'Not (he) has made thing some worthy of death'.
('... nothing worthy of death is done unto him').
- (142) Eu não posso de mim mesmo fazer coisa alguma.
(WL II 24:7)
'I not can of myself do thing some'.
('I can of mine own self do nothing').

II - Miscellaneous:

- (143) Não há absolutamente integração dessa prova testemunhal em suspeita alguma. (RFW I - 25:1)
'Not there is absolutely integration of this proof testimonial in suspicion some'.
('There is absolutely no possibility of integrating this testimonial evidence into any of the charges').
- (144) Não gerando obrigação de espécie alguma ...
(PO I - 1:1)
(Trans. on p. 111)
- (145) A nós não nos é lícito matar pessoa alguma.
(WL II - 15:1)
(Trans. on p. 137)
- (146) ... não falem mais nesse nome a homem algum.
(WL II - 13:3)
'Not speak more in this name to man some'.
('... they speak henceforth to no man').
- (147) Não tem sentido algum. (PO II - 8:1)
(Trans. on p. 111)
- (148) Não tenho sonho algum a realizar. (PO II - 8: 2)
'Not (I) have dream some to realize'. (Cf. 91)
- (149) Até hoje não recebi resposta alguma. (WL VII - 1:1)
'Until today not (I) received reply some'.
('I have not received any reply up until today').

- (150) ... coisa alguma é dispensável. (WL III - 6:1)
(Trans. on p. 114)

It is implicit in the above that the use of (N_g + Det) overlaps in speech and writing, while (N_g + Det), as further evidence will confirm (see Appendix), is strictly confined to writing. In addition, the range of use of either NP within the contexts to which they are uniquely bound shows that (N_g + Det) covers a broader range: it is present at levels I and III, whereas N_g is a feature of WL II and III, that is, it occurs in the standard version of the Bible and in literary texts.

2.5 DOUBLE-NÃO UTTERANCES AND NÃO-DELETION

2.5.1 Sentence-Final Negators.

The alternation $NÃO_{pv} \sim \emptyset$, already discussed (Cf. pp. 142 to 144), seem to be most favoured in the V + NÃO environment, i.e. in double-NÃO utterances. For the purposes of this study, I have defined double-NÃO utterances as constructions in which $NÃO_{pv}$ co-occurs with any of a class of postverbal negators of which the most representative is NÃO (referred to as $NÃO_2$, as established on page 70).

- (151) Eu não cocei não. (RFW V - 7:10)
'I not scratched not'.
('I was not scratching').

The other members of the class are the $NÃO_2$ equivalents nada and coisa nenhuma (nada_f and coisa nenhuma_f):

- (152) Não vai nada. (RFW III - 18:2)
'Not (he) goes nothing'.
('He certainly will not go').
- (153) Não faz mal hora nenhuma.¹³
'Not (it) does harm hour none'.
('It never does any harm at all').

13. See RFW II - 3:1 for ($- NÃO_{pv}$) variant.

- (154) Ela não tá contando as coisa direito nada.
(RFW IV - 40:1).

'She not is telling the thing correct nothing'.

('She is not telling the truth at all').

These are functionally identical with $\tilde{N}AO_2$ but each of them adds to its basic negative meaning a different degree of negative emphasis.

The order that emerged is as follows:

1. Ele não sai não.
'He not goes out not'.
2. Ele não sai nada.
'He not goes out nothing'.
3. Ele não sai coisa nenhuma.
'He not goes out thing none'.

$\tilde{N}AO_2$ and nada_f co-occur as a block in alternation with these three sentence-finals, thus supplying a fourth variant:

- (155) Eu não convidei ele nada não. (PO II - 6:1)

'I not invited he nothing not'.

('I did not invite him at all').

2.5.2 Double- $\tilde{N}AO$ utterances:

The (+ $\tilde{N}AO_{pv}$) variants of the double- $\tilde{N}AO$ utterances occur in most contexts:

- (156) Ele não sabe falar não. (RFW V - 7:5)

'He not knows to speak not'.

('He does not speak well').

- (157) Não vendo mais madeira não. (RFW IV - 19:11)

'Not (I) sell more wood not'.

('I do not sell wood anymore').

- (158) Não faz nada não. (RFW III - 16:20)

'Not (he) does nothing not'.

('He does not do anything').

- (159) Não vou agora não. (RFW II - 18:9)

'Not (I) go now not'.

('I am not going off now').

(160) V. Exa. não concede um aparte não, né?
(RFW I - 17:1)

'Your Excellency not allow an interruption not, not is?'.
('Your Excellency will not allow me to interrupt
you, will you?').

(161) Não adianta não. (PO IV - 6:3)

'Not helps not'.
('It will not help').

A treble NÃO has been spotted in RFW V:

(162) ... você não dá um jeito não do carro levar ... não?
(RFW V - 12:1)

'... you not give a way not of the car carry ... not?'.
('Will you not arrange to have it taken by car?').

2.5.3 Sentence-Final NÃO in the Environment of NEG_{pv}
NÃO₂ also occurs in constructions with a preverbal negator other than
NÃO_{pv}:

(163) Eu nunca cozinhei não. (RFW III - 25:3)

'I never cooked not'.
('I have never cooked').

(164) Ninguém cuida disso aqui não. (RFW I - 23:1)

'Nobody looks after this here not'.
('Nobody is looking after this (place)?').

In every case NÃO is marked for informality¹⁴, and no instances have
been detected of its occurrence in typically acrolectal utterances.
The NÃO_f/NÃO₂ ~ ∅ alternation has been included in the attitude test
to be reported on later.

14. Even in (160), above, the co-occurrence of NÃO₂ with the negative
interrogative tag né is symptomatic. Although the contextual
level with which the utterance is associated is 1, the use of
né betrays a deliberate switch down the formality scale. Besides,
it should be noted that this double-NÃO construction is in
question form, and this may change the contextual function of the
utterance.

2.5.4 NÃO-Deletion: Patterns in Adult and Child Language.

A Comparison Between Two Types of Utterances.

Variation between $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ and \emptyset has proven so far to conform to two different patterns. In one case $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ deletion interacts with preposing of the postverbal negator:

- (165) ... nada faço. (PO II - 5:3)
'... (I) nothing do'.
('... I do not do anything').

(Unmarked counterpart: Não faço nada.)

Concurrently, the preposing of NEG correlates with a formal context and the resulting construction represents a switch up the lectal hierarchy.

The other $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ deleting process affects the double- $N\tilde{A}O$ constructions just described. In this case $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ leaves no trace. It is purely a result of phonological weakening. This process produces a variant construction that correlates with the most informal end of the lectal hierarchy. In a word, while deletion-with-cost characterizes an increasingly more formal lect, deletion-without-cost points to decreasing formality.

$N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ is deleted without cost in the following constructions:

1. (NãO) + V + NãO
2. (NãO) + V + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nada}_f \\ (N + \text{nenhuma}_f) \end{array} \right\}$
3. (NãO) + V + nunca
4. (NãO) + V + NEG-Adv
5. (NãO) + V + NEG-Obj

We shall now take up each of the above in turn:

2.5.4.1 NAO-deleted constructions

a) NAO₂-only

The type of NAO₂-only construction on which our attention is now focussed is that occurring as short answers:

- (166) Foi pro colégio? Foi não. (RFW V - 6:12)
 '(He) went to school? (He) went not'.
 ('Did he go to school? No, he did not').
- (167) Falou não. (PO IV - 5:1)
 '(He) spoke not'.
 ('He did not (say anything)').
- (168) Vendo não. (RFW IV - 18:1)
 '(I) sell not'.
 ('I will not sell it').
- (169) Foi gentil não. (RFW II - 6:1)
 '(He) was nice not'.
 ('No, he was not nice').
- (170) Faz não. (RFW III - 15:3)
 '(He) does not'.
 ('He does not do it').
- (171) Então isso vai ficar com você não. (RPW II - 14:3)
 'Then this goes stay with you not'.
 ('Then this is not going to be left with you').

b) (NAO) + V + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nada}_f \\ (N + \text{nenhuma}_f) \end{array} \right\}$

Like NAO_{pv}-deleted (166) to (171), above, utterances ending in nada_f (see (172) to (175), below) and (N + nenhuma_f) carry no social stigma. Yet they are extremely frequent in the basilect, while there is not one single occurrence of either type in writing or in other acrolectal data.¹⁵ The sources indicated for the samples below show that their range of occurrence encompasses both the basilect and the mesolect but not the acrolect:

15. WL III - 4:1 does not disprove the claim, since it is taken from a children's book.

- (172) E adiantou alguma coisa? Adiantou nada. (RFW II - 26:4)
 'And (it) helped some thing? (It) helped nothing'.
 ('And did it help at all? No, it did not').
- (173) Esse é o menor? - É nada. (RFW III - 19:1)
 'This is the youngest? - (It) is nothing'.
 ('Is this the youngest? - No, he isn't').
- (174) Tem (farmácia) nada, menina. (RFW IV - 16:4)
 '(It) has (pharmacy) nothing, girl'.
 ('We have got no pharmacy, dear').
- (175) A senhora escreve carta para a filha? - Eu escrevo nada.
 (RFW IV - 16:7)
 'You write letter to the daughter? - I write nothing'.
 ('Do you write to your daughter? - No, I don't').

c) (NÃO) + V + NEG.

3, 4 and 5 will be grouped under (NÃO) + V + NEG:

NÃO_{pv}-deletion in the V + NEG environment makes a rarer appearance in the corpus. However, it occurs frequently enough to be taken as an established fact in ESP, not simply idiosyncratic behaviour or misapprehended performance. The NÃO_{pv}-deleted utterances have been included in the attitude test (results to follow), and the conclusion was that informants' reactions to NÃO_{pv}-deletion-without-cost correlate with a hierarchy of linguistic constraints which is interpreted as degrees of grammaticality. In other words, while the hierarchy of environmental constraints on deletion-with-cost correlates with a scale of formality, deletion-without-cost results in a set of variants which strike the informant as more or less grammatical, not more or less formal. To this hierarchy we shall turn shortly. Meanwhile, let us return to (NÃO) + V + NEG for a few examples. Non-deleted variants are offered in brackets:

- (176) Ele veio aqui nunca não. (PO III - 2:1)
 'He came here never not'.
 (Ele não veio aqui nunca não)

(177) Fez mal hora nenhuma. (RFW II - 3:1) (Cf. 153)
 (Nã fez mal hora nenhuma).

(178) Sei nada, nada desta vida. (RFW IV - 16:1)
 '(I) know nothing, nothing of this life'.
 (Nã sei nada ...)

(179) Saiu foi ouro nenhum. (WL III - 4:1)
 (Trans. on p. 143)
 (Nã saiu foi ouro nenhum).

The $N\tilde{A}O_{pv} \sim \emptyset$ alternation exemplified by utterances (175) to (178) is related to environments that can be ordered as follows:

1. V + $N\tilde{A}O_f$ (RFW II, III, IV, V)
2. V + NEG_f (PO II)
3. V + nunca (PO III)
4. V + NEG-Adv (RFW II)
5. V + NEG_{ptv} (RFW IV WL III)

Until we have handled the results of the attitude test this ordering will stand as a reasonable representation of the hierarchy of constraints operating on $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ -deletion-without-cost. At this stage, the order proposed above is justified by greater or lesser extent of use, i.e. the smallest number stands for the most frequent construction and the largest for the least frequent, with intermediate degrees in between.

The extent of occurrence of these constructions in the data correlate with their degree of acceptability, and they relate to

one another implicationally. Below is a representation of this state of affairs.

TABLE 14. $\tilde{N}AO_{pv} \sim \emptyset$

$V + \tilde{N}AO_f$	$V + NEG_f$	$V + NUNCA$	$V + NEG-Adv$	$V + NEG_{ptv}$
+	+	+	+	+
x	+	+	+	+
-	x	+	+	+
-	-	x	+	+
-	-	-	x	+
-	-	-	-	x
-	-	-	-	-

In Table 14, above, the $(\pm \tilde{N}AO_{pv})$ variable operates along a dimension which correlates with contextual formality in a direction opposite to that shown in Tables 11 and 12, on page 151. While in those Tables we are offered a picture of $\tilde{N}AO_{pv}$ -deletion by which utterances become increasingly more formal, in Table 14 what is portrayed is diminishing formality. As formality diminishes another dimension begins to interact, that is, grammaticality. For instance, (177) was frequently detected in a 4-level text along with typically basilectal forms. However, informants have rejected similar constructions on grounds of ill-formedness, while utterances of the $V + \tilde{N}AO_f$ type were granted full approval. The reason for this becomes obvious when we look at the universality of utterances (166) to (171) on page 159.

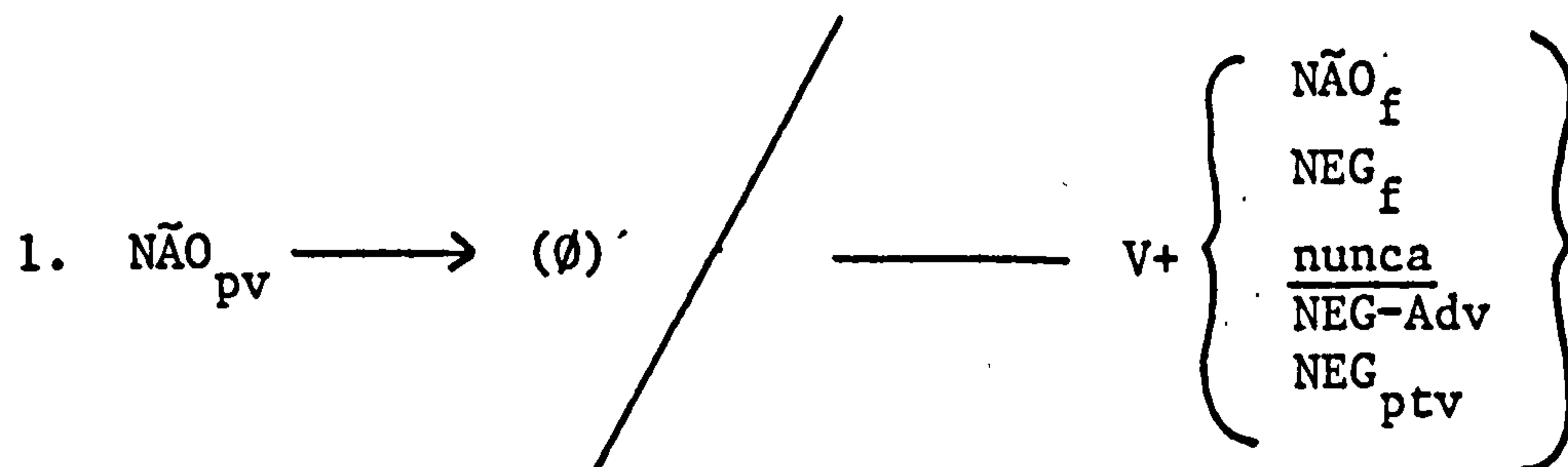
The implicational scale above also shows that, in each environment, it is the ($-N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$) utterance that carries less formality. The overall pattern of variation for the double- $N\tilde{A}O$ construction is therefore:

$$N\tilde{A}O + V + N\tilde{A}O \sim N\tilde{A}O + V \sim V + N\tilde{A}O.$$

If we bring together the present notions on the greater or lesser formality attached to the various renderings of the ($N\tilde{A}O$) + V + ($N\tilde{A}O$) construction with our earlier conclusions about the contextual value of a ($+N\tilde{A}O_f$)-utterance as opposed to its ($-N\tilde{A}O_f$) counterpart, we shall come up with a hierarchy of formality that will place $N\tilde{A}O + V$ at the upper end and $V + N\tilde{A}O$ at the lower end, thus:

1. Ele não foi.
'He not went'.
2. Ele não foi não.
'He not went not'.
3. Ele foi não.
'He went not'.
('He has not gone')

A comparison between variants 1 and 3 will reveal that once again word order is a relevant factor in the interaction of linguistic with extralinguistic phenomena, and that in this system preverbal position correlates with greater formality. Below is a formalized version of the facts just discussed:



$$2. \text{NÃO}_F \text{ — } (\emptyset) \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{NÃO}_{pv} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} + v \text{ — } .$$

2.5.4.2 NÃO-deletion in child language.

Elsewhere in this work (Cf. p. 20) I refer to the contribution made to the analysis of negation by young subjects who have been recorded in conversation with their parents. The samples drawn from those parent/child dialogues are striking examples of consistent NÃO_{pv} -deletion-without-cost. They have been coded as RFW V (i.e. child language, Cf. p. 23) and are as follows:

- (180) Chupa assim não, filhinho. (6:1)
'Suck thus not, sonny'.
('Don't suck like that, sonny').
- (181) Chora não. (6:2)
'Cry not'.
('Stop crying').
- (182) Quer mais balinha não? (6:3)
'(You) want more sweeties not?'
('Don't you want any more sweeties?').
- (183) Abre não? - Abre não, pai. (6:4)
'(One) opens not? Open not, Daddy'.
('Can't I open it? - Don't open it, Daddy').
- (184) Pode televisão não. (6:5)
'(You) may television not'.
('You can't watch television').
- (185) Carro sai mais não. (6:6)
'Car goes more not'.
('The car won't go anymore').
- (186) Dã um a você também não? (6:7)
'(One) gives one to you too not?'.
('Shouldn't we give one to you too?').
- (187) Não, deixei anel não. (6:8)
'No, (I) left ring not'.
('No, I didn't leave the ring').

- (188) Quer não. (6:9)
 'Wants not'.
 ('He doesn't (want it)').
- (189) Vai dormir no meu lado não, hem. (6:10)
 '(You) go sleep on the my side not, eh'.
 ('Won't you sleep by my side?').
- (190) Tomou o remédio direitinho? Tomou não? (6:11)
 '(You) took the medicine all right? (You) took not?'.
 ('Have you taken your medicine like a good boy?
 You haven't?').
- (191) Foi pro colégio? Foi não. (6:12)
 '(You) went to the college? (You) went not?'.
 ('Did you go to school? You didn't?').

To this it should be added that I have observed children to be nearly invariably redundant in their use of preverbal NEG. In fact, on the whole, BP child language can be said to be marked by morphological negation at its most redundant.

This should perhaps be seen in conjunction with the information Bellugi draws from his data. According to Labov's account of Bellugi's findings (Labov, 1977 : 148), there is a stage in which English-speaking children begin to use concord to preverbal position (in Labov's terms). It is interesting to note, though, that while Bellugi argues that this feature does not exist in adult language and therefore should be accounted for as child language generalization, Labov supplies examples of adult models. In my data negative redundancy (in my terms) occurs in both child and adult language, though the latter occurrence is restricted to basilectal uses, while the former is general. It should be noticed that while utterances (179) to (190) are (NÃO-) utterances, they are as frequent in child language (as well as in the basilect) as the NÃO_r (or NÃO+)

utterances referred to in the preceding paragraph. Their co-occurrence at the same level of language performance might strike one as paradoxical.

My suggestion is that generally speaking there are two types of redundancy in the BP negation system. One is discontinuous and is represented by concord and double-NÃO utterances. The other is realized by a continuous sequence, and I have decided to describe it as redundancy proper. The former results from the operation of a two-way grammatical mechanism, i.e. the requirement for negation to be realized twice in the surface structure of the sentence (Cf. p.56). In other words, it affects the structural, or outer¹⁶, form of language, and might be treated as an instance of reduction. The latter does not affect the totality of the negation system. It is a case of meaning reinforcement which operates at certain points along the negation continuum and illustrates variation in inner form.

According to Trudgill (1978 : 33) and others, reduction is typical of pidginization. On the other hand, negative sequential redundancy has been widely acknowledged as a feature of pidgins and creoles. No wonder, then, that these two apparently paradoxical processes are found to be convergent in BP basilectal and child language.

These two phenomena are paralleled in the pronoun system by case levelling or reduction, as above (Cf. p. 85), and the double realization of the person referent, i.e. before and after V (see p. 181), which illustrates pronominal meaning reinforcement. Both processes feature heavily

16. For the use of 'inner' and 'outer' form of language, see Hymes (1971 : 67).

in BP basilectal and child language, together with concord reduction and redundancy proper in the negation system. This state of affairs could have easily been predicted, since paradigmatic pronoun redundancy is also a feature of the outer form of language, whereas sequential (or syntagmatic) redundancy manifests its inner form. Trudgill (1978 : 47) refers to loss of paradigmatic redundancy as 'commonplace in pidgins'. Pronominal sequential redundancy, in its turn, can be viewed as a replica of negative semantic redundancy. Therefore, it is not surprising that these two apparently mutually exclusive processes should operate simultaneously at the same lectal level. Even less surprising, in view of the above, is their basilectal character.

At this point I would like to refer the reader to Mühlhäusler (Cf. Trudgill 1978) for his distinction between reduction, simplification-with-cost and overall simplification to discover what repercussions it may have on my data. I am inclined to see grammatical loss which is balanced out by compensation elsewhere in the system (i.e. simplification-with-cost in Mühlhäusler's terms) as an illustration of restructuring rather than simplification. This position requires the dropping of 'overall' from Mühlhäusler's 'overall simplification'. I would then describe utterances (179) to (190) as 'simplified' or 'reduced', thus equalizing reduction with simplification (Cf. p.86 about simplification as a quantitative phenomenon).

Not surprisingly, the four processes just discussed, which we have identified as loss of discontinuous syntagmatic redundancy, maintenance of continuous syntagmatic redundancy and loss of paradigmatic redundancy, have been correlated with the early stages in language acquisition. This is

confirmed by the data we have available, which show further that they converge in both child language and the vernacular. This convergency sets us wondering at the comprehensiveness of Trudgill's suggestion that,

loss of inner and outer form may sometimes be,
as it were, two sides of the same coin ...
(Trudgill, 1978 : 48).

At least sociolinguistically speaking we have reason to believe that they are independent processes.

2.6 VARIATION PATTERNS IN THE SYSTEM OF NEGATION:SUMMARY

So far we have established that the negation system in BP displays patterned variation and that the variant constructions relate to one another along a continuum. We have also defined the linguistic environments to which the variant constructions are related and the degree of constraint placed on each variant by its corresponding environment. This led us to the establishment of a hierarchy of constraints and to the characterization of the variables as (+ Redundancy), (+ Preverbal Negation) and (+ Morphological Negation). Each of these variables was found to assume the following linguistic forms, respectively: (+ $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_r$), (+ $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv}$), (+ ALG). (+ $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv}$) was further classified into two sub-variables: (+ $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv}$) (in deletion-with-cost) and (+ $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv}$) (in deletion-without-cost or reduction). We then noted that (+ ALG) and (+ $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv}$) interact with one another and with word ordering. Then we looked at the sociolinguistic status of (+ $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_2$) and (+ $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$) and their emphatic equivalents NADA_f and COISA NENHUMA_f, as well as at the framework within which (+ $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_2$) and (+ $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv}$) interact. We ended up with a rule that summarized the possible combinations to be obtained from the $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv} + V + \tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_2$ sequence.

Once a hierarchy of environmental constraints was set up and variables defined, we set about the construction of implicational scales. My aim was then to show that the presence/absence of a certain feature, in the present case NÃO_r and NÃO_{pv} , or the alternation of two forms (NEG and ALG in the system in question) proceeds implicationally across the hierarchy of linguistic constraints. The sources of the data utilized as supporting evidence for the points made were then resorted to and text was relied on as a measure of relative formality. The use of text as a clue to the formality dimension has been justified by the nature of the context in which it was performed. Individual linguistic performance and context were then seen from the point of view of the correlation that binds them together, and on these grounds we set up a 3-level socio-linguistic scale: basilect, mesolect and acrolect.

The way real utterances are affected by such a pattern of variation is demonstrated throughout the chapter and will be summarized below. For the sake of simplicity and at the same time to ensure the assemblage of semantically identical constructions, I shall for the moment overlook the linguistic data on which this work is based and resort to short, simple sentences:

1. $(+ \text{NÃO}_r), (+ \text{NÃO}_{pv}), (\text{ALG} \sim \text{NEG})$:

Ninguém não veio \sim Ninguém veio \sim Não veio ninguém \sim Não veio
pessoa alguma \sim Pessoa alguma veio \sim Veio ninguém.

2. $(+ \text{NÃO}_{pv}), (\text{ALG} \sim \text{NEG})$:

Ele não fez nada \sim Ele nada fez \sim Ele não fez coisa alguma \sim
 Ele coisa alguma fez \sim Ele fez nada.

3. (+ NÃO_{pv}), (+ NÃO₂):

Ele não veio ~ Ele veio não ~ Ele não veio não.

2.7 PRONOUNS

2.7.1 Introduction

We wound up the preliminary analysis of the pronouns with a statement that amounts to the following:

- a) In BP subject pronoun alternates with object pronoun in object position. The subject form is fully-stressed while the object form is weakly-stressed.
- b) Person (and sometimes number) is a constraining factor on the occurrence of the fully-stressed form, such that the fully-stressed variant can be more or less basilectal in one person/number category than in another.
- c) The categorical occurrence of the fully-stressed form in all persons, singular and plural, is a distinctive feature of the lower basilect.
- d) A hierarchy of constraints would place the 3rd person (singular and plural) as the category which is most favourable to the occurrence of the fully-stressed form, and the 1st person singular as the most unfavourable.
- e) The categorical lects are not immediately contrastive with one another. Alternation proceeds gradually in the space in between. Once the linguistic environments in which the forms occur are ordered

1st person:

Singular:

- (192) Bastião ... pega eu e leva para consultar. (RFW IV - 5:2)¹⁸

'Bastião ... picks I up and takes to consult'.

('Bastião ... picks me up and takes me to the doctor').

Plural:

- (193) Eles não incomoda nós não. (RFW IV - 10:2)

'They not bother we not'.

('They do not bother us').

3rd person:

- (194) Nós tratava ela assim de Silvinha. (RFW IV - 4:1)

'We treated she thus of Silvinha'.

('We called her Silvinha').

- (195) Quero que a senhora diga a ele ...¹⁹ (RFW IV - 12:3)

'(I) want that you tell to he ...'

('I want you to tell him ...').

- (196) Ele conta a situação dele todinha. (RFW IV - 2:7)

'He tells the situation of he whole'.

('He will give a full report on his situation').

18. An instance of I.O. eu seems to indicate that, were case to be specified, a lower level of performance would have to be set up to account for it. Here is it: Minha velhinha sempre deu amor amizade eu (RFW IV 13:1) 'My little old woman always gave love, friendship (to) I'.

19. Stressed forms in object position are preceded by a preposition (a or para) in most lects. The few utterances in which preposition deletion was detected betrayed a level of performance below IV, in adult speech. The following sample exemplifies it: Homem nenhum não dá salvação nós não. (RFW IV - 10:1). This point has not been taken up at great length because it would not add to the fully-stressed form/weakly-stressed form issue.

in accordance with the constraint hierarchy, the presence/absence of the fully-stressed/weakly-stressed form in one environment implies the presence/absence of the form in the neighbouring environments.

Bearing these notions in mind, we shall now embark on an analysis of the language samples gathered for this study.

As with negation, we shall take context as a measure of text formality. This will be indicated by the text level, as coded in the Appendix.

As before (Cf. p. 36), our starting point will be the end-points of the scale, i.e. the basilect and the acrolect.

2.7.1.1 Basilect:

It is indicated in the corpus by level IV for recorded samples and utterances drawn from speech or writing.

In view of the fact that number is relevant for the 1st person only, I shall not discriminate between singular and plural when dealing with the 3rd person. The 2nd person¹⁷ will be dealt with separately, for reasons that will be clarified later.

17. I have excluded vós from this analysis, as it has a very restricted distribution (it is confined today to hyper-formal public addresses) and for this reason it is a rather fossilized form. Besides, I am dealing here with forms that are either explicitly intimate or indifferent to the degrees of respect relating addresser and addressee.

2.7.1.2 Acrolect:

Correspondingly, acrolectal samples will be established on the grounds of their connection with text levels I or II (recorded and directly observed), and II, III, IV, V and VI (writing).

1st person:

Singular:

- (197) E quando o encontrarem me avisem. (WL V - 7:1)
'And when (you) him find me advise'.
(('And when you find him, let me know')).

Plural:

- (198) O Governo nos iludiu. (RFW I - 9:3)
'The government us fooled'.
(('The Government has fooled us')).

3rd person:

- (199) Ele sô destrôï a casa quando a sua mulher o trai.
(RFW I - 3:4)
'He only destroys the house when the his wife him betrays'.
(('He only destroys his house when his wife betrays him')).
- (200) ... inteligência que Deus lhe deu. (RFW I - 14:3)
'... intelligence that God him gave'.
(('... intelligence that God gave him')).
- (201) O povo vai pagar com o seu sacrifício. (RFW I - 30:10)
'The people goes pay with their sacrifice'.
(('The people will repay with their sacrifice')).

2.7.1.3 Mesoelect vs Acrolect and Basilect

The mesoelect consists of a series of variable lects in which alternation between fully-stressed and weakly-stressed forms does not occur simultaneously in all environments. As with the negation system, the linguistic environments in which these forms occur favour the occurrence of one form and constrain the other at different times, and this makes for a hierarchy of constraints. I have found that it is the 3rd person that is most favourable to the occurrence of the fully-stressed form. Within the 3rd person category we have to distinguish between personal and possessive, since they also differ as to the extent of their constraining force, i.e. 3rd person possessive is more favourable than 3rd person personal to the use of fully-stressed forms. All this means that the 3rd person fully-stressed variant is a feature shared by the basilect and the mesoelect, and that the possessive dele overlaps further into the lower acrolect.

2.7.2 Analysis.

2.7.2.1 Third person:

Dele alternates with seu and ele/ela with o/a²⁰, both typically acrolectal:

- (202) Os trabalhadores ... não podem ajudar seus filhos.
(RFW I - 29:8)

'The workers ... not can help their children'.

('The workers cannot help their children').

- (203) ... de maneira nenhuma o lançarei fora. (WL II - 3:2)

'... of manner none him (I) will throw away'.

('... I will in no wise cast out')

20. In fact it was a three-way alternation that emerged from the data, i.e. $o \sim ele \sim \emptyset$. However, I have not incorporated ' \emptyset ' because it would raise stylistic questions that lie outside the scope of this work. Here is an example of the ' \emptyset ' variant.

Vendeu lá e comprou aqui. (RFW II - 15:1)

'(He) sold there and bought here'.

There are instances of (D.O.- \emptyset) utterances in both speech (levels I to V) and writing.

Dele is upper acrolectal in:

- (204) No depoimento dele ... (WL IV - 3:1)
'In the testimony of he'.
('in his testimony').

The above shows that dele runs right through from the lower basilect to the upper mesolect (or even the acrolect). Yet the following examples show that texts characterized by attempts at matching the formal context in which they are produced make categorical use of seu:

- (205) Nós conhecemos bem o seu sofrimento, as suas lágrimas.
(RFW I - 30:6)
'We know well the their suffering, the their tears'.
('We know their suffering and tears well').
- (206) A Comissão de Justiça dá o seu parecer ...
(RFW I - 30:14)
'The Commission of Justice gives (the) their report ...'
- (207) A lei entrará em vigor na data de sua publicação.
(RFW I - 30:15)
'The law will enter in force in the date of its publication'.
('The law will come into force on the day of its publication').
- (208) O apelado trouxe para o processo em sua defesa uma série de documentos.
(RFW I - 29:6)
'The accused brought to the files in his defence a series of documents'.
('The accused has submitted further documentation to strengthen his case').
- (209) Posteriormente a criança é encaminhada à Fesbem, que se torna responsável por seu destino. (WL IV - 2:1)
'Later the child is sent to Fesbem, which becomes responsible for its destiny'.
- (210) Depois abriram suas caixas e lhe ofereceram presentes.
(WL V - 18:1)
'Then (they) opened their boxes and (they) him offered presents'.
('They brought out their gifts ... and presented them to him').

However, the neighbouring lects are not categorically different. The samples below show that acrolectal seu alternates with dele in the mesolect:

- (211) Quando ele saiu ele fez a despedida dos seus companheiros
lá. (RFW III - 33:1)
'When he left he made the farewell of his companions
there'.
('When he left he gave his colleagues a farewell party').
- (212) Os nossos escritores nunca souberam escrever a sua
língua. (Trans. on p. 144) (RFW II - 28:1)
- (213) A mãe dela era Iel. (RFW III - 2:4)
'The mother of she was Iel'.
('Her mother was Iel').
- (214) Fica lá na casa dela. (RFW III - 2:1)
'(It) stays there in the house of she'.
('It stays there in her house').

One would expect this same type of alternation to be experienced by other possessive classes, i.e. the ones referring to 1st and 2nd person possessors. Should this be the case, we would end up with these alternations:

- 1st { s = meu ~ de eu
p = nosso ~ de nós
- 2nd { s = seu ~ de você
p = seu ~ de vocês
- s = singular
p = plural

However, only de vocês occurs in the data:

- (215) O coração de vocês estará onde estiverem suas riquezas.
(WL V - 3:3)

'The heart of you (pl.) will be where will be your riches'.

('Your heart will always be where your riches are').

In (215) de vocês alternates with suas in the same utterance.

Later on we shall see that de eu, de nós and de você are felt to be ungrammatical in their possessive function. However, a few responses on the judgement test mark them off as features of child language.

A redundant variant has also been detected which occurs as a feature of a lect already referred to in relation to 1st person singular redundancy (Cf. p. 181).

- (216) A sua segunda pessoa dele. (RFW III - 31:1, 2)
(Cf. also item 18 on p

'The his second person of he'.

('His second in command').

This alternant is in fact brought up by both Dias (1970) and Bechara (1976), who claim that recourse to redundant post-nominal dele is intended as a means to avoid misunderstanding. Judging from the evidence supplied by Dias, this redundant use has long been established practice in BP:

1. Dizêdo que quiria fallar com elles alguuas cousas que eram seu proveito delles. (F. Lopes, 150, in Dias p. 74).

'Saying that (he) wanted speak with them some things that were their profit of they'.

('Saying that he wanted to tell them a few things that would be to their advantage').

Dias states that seu ... dele is typical of informal language but Bechara makes no claim as to its sociolinguistic status. Rather he sees it as an expressive device.

Possessive dele vs D.O. ele:

The 3rd person is the second most favourable environment to the occurrence of the fully-stressed form. It supplies the mesolect with a feature that it shares with the basilect but not by any means with the acrolect. In other words, constraint is heavier on ele than on dele; therefore the two pairs of alternants do not fill in parallel areas of this continuum, i.e. dele will co-occur with ele up to a certain point, where o takes over and becomes categorical while dele still lingers on until it begins to alternate with seu. Seu becomes categorical only in the hyperacrolect.

3rd Person Pronoun Continuum.

The alternation just mentioned is an instance of overlapping alternation which I take as evidence that pronoun variation, like negation, is not discrete. Rather the lectal hierarchy works in such a way that adjacent varieties always overlap. To further substantiate this claim, I give below a list of examples that show the overlapping area between ele and o:

Acrolect:

(217) Tira o homem do campo e o transporta para a cidade.
(RFW I - 3:3)

'(He) takes the man from the country and him transports to the city'.

(' (He) will take people out of the country and transport them to the town').

- (218) O MP talvez não o receba. (RFW I - 3:8)
 'The MP perhaps not him receive'.
 ('Perhaps the MP will not receive him').
- (219) ... procurar o menino para o matar. (WL II - 3:1)
 '... seek the boy to him kill'.
 ('... seek the young child to destroy him').
- (220) ... DN fez questão de desmentir que o tivesse enviado
 ao Rio. (WL IV - 4:1)
 '... DN made question of deny that (he) him had sent
 to the Rio'.
 ('... DN insisted in denying that he had sent him to
 Rio').
- (221) E ele os batizava no rio Jordão. (WL V - 8:5)
 'And he them baptized in the river Jordan'.
 ('And he baptized them in the Jordan').
- (222) Raquel conhece ele. (RFW II - 9:6)
 'Raquel knows he'.
 ('Raquel knows him').
- (223) Recomenda ele a Deus. (RFW II - 9:8)
 'Recommend he to God'.
 ('Commend him to God').
- (224) ... tornar ela mais acessível ao povo? (RFW II - 9:3)
 '... make she more accessible to the people? '
 ('... (to) make her more accessible to the people?').
- (225) A senhora deseja ver ele? (RFW IV - 4:15)
 'The lady wish to see he?'.
 ('Do you wish to see him?').
- (226) A mãe não podia nem sustentar ele. (RFW IV - 4:13)
 'The mother not could not even sustain he'.
 ('His mother could not even support him').
- (227) Eu não convidei ele nada não. (PO II - 2:1)
 (Trans. on p. 156)
- (228) Eu não o provoco nunca. (PO II - 4:1)
 (Trans. on p. 138)

Object ele does not occur in writing nor in acrolectal speech, while object o is absent from the basilect. The presence of ele and o in levels PO II and RFW II show that they alternate in the mesolect.

2.7.2.2 First person:

Singular:

The typically basilectal singular form eu alternates with me, a variant which is both mesolectal and acrolectal, as shown below:

Acrolect:

- (229) Na sessão de julgamento impressionou-me ...
(RFW I - 5:1)
'In the Session of Judgement impressed me ...'
('In the Court Session what impressed me was ...').
('What impressed me in the trial was ...').
- (230) E quando o encontrarem me avisem. (WL V 7:1)
(Trans. on p. 173)

Mesolect:

- (231) Novela me mata. (RFW II - 11:1)
'Soap opera bores me to death'.
- (232) Aquilo me aborrece. (RFW III - 7:4)
'That me annoys'.
('That annoys me').

Basilect:

- (233) Bastião ... pega eu e leva pra consultar.
(RFW IV - 5:2)
(Trans. on p. 172)

Two pleonastic constructions have been detected in the recorded corpus:

(234) Morreu, me deixou eu pequeno.²⁰ (RFW IV - 8:1)

'(He) died, (he) me left I small'.

('He died when I was small').

(235) Ela não quis me levar eu não. (RFW IV - 8:2)

'She not wanted me take I not'.

('She did not want to take me').

These are illustrations of semantic redundancy in the pronoun system.

Constructions of this type are fairly frequent in the basilect. In fact they were frequent enough to convince me that they were not simply sporadic occurrences. Yet they do not turn up as frequently in the corpus, and the reason for it is that my interest in them was not aroused until much later, when a host of examples had gone unrecorded.

The fact that these utterances are typically basilectal, like the redundant negative constructions, shows that in reality the two processes are of one and the same kind. Yet grammatical redundancy, (e.g. morphological case contrast, double-NÃO utterances and negative concord), operates in a different fashion, i.e. while semantic redundancy is enhanced towards the basilect, grammatical redundancy signals increased formality in relation to their non-redundant counterparts.

If we were to look at pleonastic constructions of this type, we might

20. Pleonastic constructions are typical of literary style, yet the literary variants differ from (235) in that the second form of the pronoun requires a prepositional connective. This condition, in the case of the 1st person singular, determines the replacement of eu by mim, as shown below:

Coube-me a mim esta difícil tarefa.

'(It) fell me to me this difficult task'.

('It has fallen to me to do this difficult task').

have to set up an extra text level to account for a basilectal variety that stands between categorical fully-stressed and categorical weakly-stressed. However, I do not think that the incorporation of these constructions would further our ends. For this reason pleonastic constructions will not receive more than this cursory treatment.

Plural:

Nós alternates with nos in the following fashion:

- (236) ... os milhões de analfabetos nos assustam.
(RFW I - 9:1)
'... the millions of illiterates us shock'.
('The millions of illiterates shock us').
- (237) ... ajuda-nos. (WL II - 5:1)
'... help us'.
- (238) Quem nos leva é Deus. (RFW III - 8:1)
'Who us take is God'.
('It is God who leads us').
- (239) Na mesma barca nos encontramos. (WL IV - 15:5)
'In the same ferry us (we) met'.
('We met on the same ferry').
- (240) Eles não incomoda nós não. (RFW IV - 10:2)
(Trans. on p. 172)

As with the singular form, plural nós ~ nos has a third alternant, i.e. the NP a gente²¹. It has no case marking and therefore fills both subject and object positions:

- (241) Espero que a gente possa trazer uma contribuição.
(RFW I - 33:2)
'(I) hope that the folk may bring a contribution'.
('I hope that we may bring a contribution').

21. Other meanings of a gente have not been considered.

(242) A gente já conhece ele. (RFW III - 37:1)

'The folk already knows he'.

('We already know him').

(243) Ele quando quer nós lá, ele manda buscar a gente.
(RFW IV - 3:1)

'He when (he) wants we there, he commands fetch the folk'.

('When he wants us there, he sends for us').

The NP a gente does not occur in formal varieties whether in speech or writing. It is therefore marked as a non-acrolectal form, although no social stigma is attached to it as is the case with Obj nós. Utterance (243), above, is an instance of the nós ~ a gente alternation in the basilect. As shown earlier (Cf. p.172), nós is basilectal. Yet a gente is mesolectal. This is further indicated by the samples below, all of which were drawn from mesolectal texts:

(244) É por onde geralmente a gente passa ... (RFW I - 33:3)

'(It) is by where generally the folk pass ...'

('This is where we normally pass ...').

(245) É nestas oportunidades que a gente procura carrear alguns recursos ... (RFW I - 33:1)

'(It) is in these opportunities that the folk seek raise some funds'.

('It is on these occasions that one tries to raise some funds').

(246) A gente não fica com raiva. (PO IV - 15:1)

'The folk not stay with anger'.

('We do not get angry').

2.7.2.3 Second person:

The prestige form of the second person pronoun is o:

(247) Sempre o apreciei. (RFW I - 10:1)

'(I) always you appreciated'.

('I have always admired you').

Leaving out the V-forms, o alternates with você and te, neither of which are marked for gender.

Você:

- (248) ... não quis ocupar você. (RFW II - 14:2)
'... (I) not wanted occupy you' (sing.),
('I did not want to take your time').
- (249) N. S. da Penha que acompanhe vocês. (RFW III - 10:2)
'Our Lady of the Rock that accompanies you' (pl.),
('May our Lady of the Rock accompany you').
- (250) E quem deixou você no cavalelho? (RFW V - 2:1)
'And who left you in the little horse?'
('And who left you on the little horse?').
- (251) Não julguem os outros para que Deus não julgue vocês.
(WL V - 10:7)
'Not judge the others for that God not judge you' (pl.),
('Do not judge others, so that God will not judge you').

Te:

- (252) Quero te ver hoje à noite. (RFW II - 13:1)
'(I) want you see today at night'.
('I want to see you tonight').
- (253) Agora eu te mato. (RFW IV - 31:3)
'Now I you kill'.
('I will kill you now').

I have not spotted any occurrences of o in the basilect nor in the mesolect, apart from the pre-acrolectal area:

- (254) Esperamos revê-la logo. RPW II - 6:2)
'(We) hope re-see you soon'.
('We hope to see you again soon').

Você and te, as above, alternate for most of the mesolect. In the

upper mesolect te alternates with o, and você does not occur. Você (in its reduced form ocê) is uniquely related to the basilect, as shown by its categorical presence. There is not one single occurrence of te or o at the lower extreme of the lectal continuum.

The variant o:

As we have seen, o is ambiguous for person, i.e. it carries both 2nd and 3rd person referents. However, while o-2nd person and o-3rd person are sociolinguistically close, their non-acrolectal variants, você and ele respectively, do not hold parallel positions on the continuum. Here is a comparison between the two members of each pair:

o-2nd and o-3rd:

(255) Sempre o apreciei. (RFW I - 10:1)

(Trans. on p. 183)

(256) Procurar o menino para o matar. (WL II - 3:1)

(Trans. on p. 179)

(257) ... a língua escreve o mesmo fonema, se o possui, de modo diferente. (RFW II - 12:1)

'The language writes the same phoneme if (it) has it, of mode different'.

('The phoneme will be represented in a different way, if exists in the language').

(258) Eu não o provoco nunca. (PO II - 4:1)

(Trans on p. 138)

2.7.2.4 Você and ele:

(259) Então é claro que ele vai vestir vocês também. (WL V - 10:6)

'Then (it) is clear that he goes dress you (pl.) too'.

('Won't he be all the more sure to clothe you?').

Utterances (255) to (258) show that the variant o-3rd is used in both the standard and popular versions of the Bible, whereas o-2nd has been replaced by você in the popular version. This reflects a consensus by which ele has not been accorded a sociolinguistic status equal to that of você, in this particular case. In other words, ele was still felt by the Bible translators to fall below the level of social acceptance, while você was incorporated and therefore given the status of a written form. This is equal to saying that ele is basilectal, but você is not. This problem gains more significance as we look at the ample use of ele in educated speech (the samples below are all taken from RFW II):

(260) Quando a senhora conheceu ele? (9:1)

'When you met he?'

('When did you meet him?')

(261) Não conheço ela não. (9:4)

'(I) not know she not'.

('I do not know her').

(262) Recomenda ele a Deus. (9:8)

(Trans. on p. 179)

(263) Raquel conhece ele. (9:6)

(Trans. on p. 179)

(264) ... será que esse quadro ele já comprou ele com a moldura? (9:7)

'(It) will be that this painting he already bought he with the frame'.

('I wonder whether he has bought this painting already framed').

Te²² does not appear in the popular Bible translation. This favouring

22. We have been treating você/vocês as one form, represented by the unmarked você. Yet they must be given separate treatment when we deal with the te issue, for the simple reason that te alternates with você, but not with vocês. The latter has only one alternative form: os.

of você over te can be traced to well established grammatical norms which still see te as belonging to the tu paradigm and for this reason not qualified to enter into combination with Subj você. This avoidance of what we might call a break of the pronominal address concord²³ seems to be typical normative behaviour that clashes with current use:

(265) Você sabe quem quer te visitar? (RFW III - 14:1)

'You know who wants you (to) visit?'

('Do you know who wants to visit you?').

(266) ... vou te chamar pra você ir comigo lá.

(RFW IV - 15:1)

'(I) go you (to) call for you (to) go with me there'.

('I will ask you to come along').

(267) Quando você precisar de dinheiro essa gente toda te empresta. (RPW II - 12:1)

'When you need of money that folk all you lend'.

('When you need money, all these people will lend you some').

Utterances (265), (266) and (267) show that address concord is not observed in ESP at least up to mesolectal level. Yet mixed address does

23. The same type of concord break can be seen in the following utterance:

Eu que te entreguei. Vai sobrar dinheiro seu.

(RPW 12:2)

'I who you handed. (It) goes be left money your'.

('It was I who handed (it to you). You will have some money left').

Here it is seu (de você) that clashes with te (weakly-stressed form in the tu paradigm). Put together, the two pronoun combinations will result in the following change in the standard pronoun system:

SP	tu	te	teu
	você	o	seu
Data System	você	te	seu

SP = Standard pronoun system.

not occur in writing, as can be inferred from the presence of concord in as informal a text as a personal letter:

(268) Um grande abraço para você. Que volte breve, mas que faça tudo que lhe é possível fazer. (RPW II - 30:1)
 'A big hug for you. That (you) return brief but that (you) do all that you is possible do'.
 ('A big hug for you. May you return soon but I hope you will do everything you possibly can').

2.7.2.5 Indirect object:

Personal pronouns display a three-way alternation in the I.O. category, except for the 2nd person singular:

TABLE 15. PERSONAL PRONOUNS: I.O. CATEGORY

1st person		2nd person		3rd person
Sing.	Pl.	Sing.	Pl.	Sing/Pl.
me	nos	lhe	lhes	lhe(s)
mim (+ prep)	nós (+ prep)	você (+ prep)	vocês (+ prep)	ele(s) (+ prep)
eu	nós	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{você} \\ \text{te} \end{array} \right\}$	vocês	ele(s)

If we leave out the 1st person singular (+ prep) form, mim, for its deviation from the overall pattern, we shall be left with a fully-stressed ~ weakly stressed alternation which has the following characteristics:

(1) Similarly to the D.O. alternation, the unstressed form is non-basilectal and, in the 2nd and 3rd person categories, it is acrolectal.

2ND AND 3RD PERSONS:

- (269) Eu lhe darei tudo isto. (WL V - 14:1)
'I you will give all this'.
('All this I will give you').
- (270) Eu vou lhe conceder um aparte. (RFW I - 13:1)
'I go you allow an interruption'.
('I will allow you to interrupt me.').
- (271) E eu lhes peço: não parem. (RFW I - 7:2)
'And I you request: not stop'.
('And I ask you: do not stop').

1ST PERSON:

- (272) Pedro veio me pedir para ficar na sua casa.
(RPW II - 23:1)
'Pedro came me ask to stay in-the your house'.
('Pedro came to ask me to stay in your house').
- (273) E nos dê proteção. (RFW II - 8:1)
'And us give protection'.
('And give us protection').

(2) Stressed forms are basilectal when not preceded by a preposition.

- (274) Homem nenhum não dá salvação nós não.
(RFW IV - 10:1)
(Trans. on p. 118)

(3) (+ Prep) stressed forms are meso-acrolectal.

- (275) Ninguém prestou assunto a ele. (RFW IV - 12:4)
'Nobody listened to he'.
('Nobody listened to him').
- (276) Ela não dá obediência a ele. (RFW III - 12:2)
'She not gives obedience to he'.
('She does not tell him of her movements').

- (277) Eu já tinha dito a ele que eu não falava mais
nesse assunto. (RFW II - 16:1)
'I already had said to he that I not talked more
in this subject'.
('I had already told him that I would not discuss
this matter anymore').
- (278) ... quero dizer a vocês hoje ... (RFW I - 12:1)
'(I) want tell to you (pl.) today ...'
('I want to tell you today ...').
- (279) O povo levou a ele muitas pessoas. (WL V - 12:9)
'The people took to he many persons'.
('People brought to (Jesus) many ...').
- (280) Façam aos outros o que querem que eles façam a
vocês. (WL V - 13:5)
'Do to others what (you) want that they do to you (pl.)'.
('Do for others what you want them to do for you').

It should be noted that while (275) is a sample of uneducated urban speech, (277) illustrates educated formal speech and (278), (279) and (280) were drawn from the popular translation of the Bible. This shows that I.O. fully-stressed forms, like their D.O. counterparts, have reached a sociolinguistic status that has qualified them to be granted acceptance in written form. However, this parallelism should not be carried too far. In at least two aspects the I.O. alternants are not paralleled by D.O.:

- (1) While D.O. ele does not occur in writing and is basi-mesolectal, I.O. ele (+ preposition) alternates with lhe in written texts and is socially unmarked.
- (2) I.O. ele (- Prep) is two degrees removed from acrolectal lhe, whereas D.O. ele is the only alternative for o. This explains the

differences in status between the two alternants, i.e. D.O. ele is basi-mesolectal, while I.O. (- Prep) ele is basilectal.

All things considered, a definition of the basilect in terms of the I.O, sets of alternants must include an extra process, i.e. deletion of I.O. preposition. In other words, as concerns the I.O. variants, the basilect will be fully accomplished once stressed pronominal forms take over and I.O. prepositions are deleted.

I.O. te, like its D.O. equivalent, is mesolectal:

- (281) Eu te dou o dinheiro. (RFW III - 13:1)
'I you give the money'.
('I will give you the money').
- (282) Eu que te entreguei. (RPW II - 24:2)
'I that you handed'.
('It was me that handed it to you').
- (283) Vou te dar tanto. (RFW IV - 31:1)
'(I) go you give so much'.
('I will give you so much').

Você/te does not occur in writing, which by standard norms will reject any breaks of address agreement, nor is it a feature of the basilect as defined in this study (Cf. p.126).

2.7.2.6 Hierarchy of environmental constraints:

We are now in a position to establish a hierarchy of environmental constraints for the use of the personal/possessive pronouns in ESP and to show the overlapping areas between adjacent lects. As we do so, we shall be substantiating our earlier claim (Cf. p.87) that the

pronoun system, like negation, operates as a continuum.

Before we move on to the hierarchy of environmental constraints we shall, for the sake of clarity, lay out in a summary chart the alternating pronoun forms so far discussed:

TABLE 16 . POSSESSIVE AND PERSONAL VARIANTS.

POSSESSIVE		P E R S O N A L					
3rd person	2nd person	1st person		2nd person		3rd person	
		SING	PL.	D.O.	I.O.	D.O.	I.O.
DELE	DE VOCÊS .	EU	NÓS	(V)OCÊ	(V)OCÊ	ELE	ELE
SEU...DELE	SEU	ME...EU	A GENTE	TE	A VOCÊ		A ELE
					TE		
SEU		ME	NÓS	O	LHE	O	LHE

Environment will now be defined not in terms of linear sequence, as for negation. We shall define constraints on the fully-stressed/weakly-stressed alternation by reference to morphological categories such as person, number and case, under which the fully-stressed and weakly-stressed alternants are more or less favoured. In the present study we shall be concerned with the following environments: 3rd person possessive, 2nd person possessive, 1st person singular, 1st person plural, 2nd person D.O., 3rd person D.O., and Indirect Object. The first two and the last will be now subsumed under (+ Prep) forms.

Below, these environments are ordered, according to the weight of the environmental constraints, from most to least favoured. Mark 1 has been assigned to the most favourable environment, i.e. (+ Prep).

1. (+ Prep) I.O.
2. 2nd person D.O.
3. 3rd person D.O.
4. 1st person plural D.O.
5. 1st person singular D.O.
6. (- Prep) I.O.

2.7.2.7 Implicational relations between pronoun variants:

We shall now carry out a further examination of the data, so as to characterize the system of relations that unites the basilectal, the acrolectal and the mesolectal alternants. We shall do so by extracting from the corpus representative samples of text at various contextual levels and then by pinpointing co-occurring forms, overlapping areas and implicational relations between forms. We shall start off by looking at an acrolectal written text and then proceed along a descending scale of formality down to the most basilectal samples.

Text 1:

- (284) ... de maneira nenhuma o lançarei fora. (WL II - 3:2)
(Trans. on p. 174)
- (285) ... não lhes fará dano algum. (WL II - 11:2)
'... (It) not them will do damage some'.
('... It shall not hurt them').

- (286) ... não nos segue. (WL II - 5:2)
 '... (He) not us follows'.
 ('... he followeth us not').
- (287) Toma o menino e sua mãe ... (WL II - 26:1)
 'Take the boy and his mother'.
 ('Take the young child and his mother').
- (288) O título ... que lhe outorgamos é a moeda da nossa gratidão. (RFW I - 13:2)
 'The title ... that (we) you award is the currency of our gratitude'.
 ('The title that we award you is a token of our gratitude').
- (289) Sempre o apreciei. (RFW I - 10:1)
 (Trans. on p. 183)

Text 2:

- (290) O depoimento dele. (WL IV - 3:1)
 (Trans. on p. 175)
- (291) E eu lhes peço: não parem. (RFW I - 7:2)
 (Trans. on p. 189)
- (292) O enquadramento para melhorar seu salário saiu. (WL IV - 2:2)
 'The tenure to improve their salary has come out'.
 ('Their tenure, which will improve their salary, has come through').
- (293) O Governo nos iludiu. (RFW I - 9:3)
 (Trans. on p. 173)
- (294) ... população que hoje o mantém estudando. (WL IV - 4:2)
 '... population that today him keep studying'.
 ('... people who pay for his education').

Text 3:

- (295) Eu não sou digno de carregar as sandálias dele. (WL V - 2:2)
 'I am not worthy of carrying the sandals of he'.
 ('I am not good enough even to carry his sandals').

- (296) O coração de vocês estará onde estiverem suas riquezas. (WL V - 3:3)
(Trans. on p. 177)
- (297) E quando o encontrarem me avisem. (WL V - 7:1)
(Trans. on p. 173)
- (298) Felizes são vocês quando os insultam. (WL V - 9:1)
'Happy are you (pl.) when you (they) insult'.
('Happy are you when people insult you ...').
- (299) Eu nunca os conheci. (WL V - 9:4)
'I never you knew'.
('I never knew you').
- (300) O povo levou a ele muitas pessoas. (WL V - 12:9)
(Trans. on p. 190)
- (301) Ele dará a vocês todas as outras coisas ...
(WL V - 13:4)
'He will give to you (pl.) all the other things'.
('He will provide you with all these other things').
- (302) Que faça tudo que lhe é possível fazer. (RPW II - 30:1)
(Trans. on p. 188)
- (303) ... ajuda-nos. (WL II - 5:1)
(Trans. on p. 182)
- (304) Como é que você me vê? (RPW II - 23:2)
'How is that you me see?'
('How do you see me?').

Text 4:

- (305) A pretensão dele foi a de representar a fala.
(RFW II - 7:1)
'The intention of he was that of represent the speech'.
('His intention was to represent speech').
- (306) E nos dê proteção. (RFW II - 8:1)
(Trans. on p. 189)
- (307) Eu irei e lhe darei saúde. (WL II - 4:4)
'I will come and heal him'.

- (308) Eu não o provoço nunca. (PO II - 4:1)
(Trans. on p.138)
- (309) Novela me mata. (RFW II - 11:1)
(Trans. on p.180)
- (310) Que bom que você se lembrasse de oferecer a ela
essa carona. (RPW II - 8:2)
'What good that you remembered to offer to her
this lift'.
('It was nice of you to remember to offer her a lift').

Text 5:

- (311) O mestre tirava a canoa dele ... (RFW III - 3:1)
'The master took the canoe of he ...'
('The master pulled out his canoe ...').
- (312) Dou estudo a eles. (RFW III - 11:1)
'(I) give study to them'.
('I give them the chance to study').
- (313) ... eu a vi na igreja de manhã. (RPW II - 4:1)
'... I her saw in the church of morning'.
('... I saw her in church this morning').
- (314) Ele me carinha. (RFW III - 7:3)
'He me cuddles'.
('He cuddles me').
- (315) Peguei ela em muitos graus. (RPW II - 5:4)
'(I) had she in many grades'.
('I had her in several classes').
- (316) N.S. da penha que acompanhe vocês. (RFW III - 10:2)
(Trans. on p. 184)
- (317) Quem nos leva é Deus. (RFW III - 8:1)
(Trans. on p. 182)

Text 6:

- (318) Ele conta a situação dele todinha. (RFW IV - 2:7)
(Trans. on p. 172)

- (319) Ele quando quer nós lá ele manda buscar ...
(RFW IV - 10:3)
(Trans. on p. 183)
- (320) ... uma menina ... vai descer para apanhar vocês.
(RPW II - 11:1)
'One girl goes (to) go down to fetch you (pl.)'.
('A girl will come down to fetch you').
- (321) Dar conselho a ela. (RFW IV - 12:1)
'(To) give counsel to her'.
('To give her advice').
- (322) ... boto eles na escola. (RFW III - 5:9)
'(I) put they in the school'.
('I send them to school').
- (323) O médico me deu um remédio. (RFW IV - 7:7)
'The doctor me gave a medicine'.
('The doctor gave me a bottle of medicine').

Text 7:

- (324) Foi lá ... levar a neta dele para fazer curativo no pé.
(RFW IV - 2:2)
'(He) went there to take the granddaughter of he to do dressing on the foot'.
('He took his granddaughter over to have the wound on her foot dressed').
- (325) Vou no carro de vocês. (PO IV - 16:1)
'(I) go in the car of you (pl.)'.
('I shall go in your car').
- (326) Só se ele mandar eu embora que eu saio. (RFW IV - 5:1)
'Only if he sends I away that I go out'.
('I won't go away unless he tells me to').
- (327) Eles não incomoda nós não. (RFW IV - 10:2)
(Trans. on p. 182)
- (328) Nós tratava ela assim de Silvinha. (RFW IV - 4:1)
(Trans. on p. 172)

- (329) Pedi o moço que me leva ... (RFW IV - 7:13)
 '(I) asked the young man that me take'.
 ('I asked the young man to take me there').
- (330) Ninguém prestou assunto a ele. (RFW IV - 12:4)
 'Nobody rendered matter to he'.
 ('Nobody paid any attention to him').

In text 1 all pronominal forms are preposed. They are therefore distinctly acrolectal. Text 5 on the other hand is characterized by the general occurrence of postponed forms and this defines it as basilectal. Texts 2 through 4 give evidence of the constraining action of the various categories represented by the pronoun forms under examination. If we take a close look at them, we shall see that forms are related in such a way that an implicational pattern can be detected, as exemplified by the following: the presence of, let us say, subject form eu in the D.O. category, as in Text 5, implies that subject forms will occur in all the more favourable environments, i.e. 1st person plural, 3rd person D.O., 2nd person D.O., and (+ Prep). - It also means that the variant in the I.O. (- Prep) category, which is a less favourable environment, will not have occurred. If we resort again to Bailey's implicational model for the representation of these phenomena, and order the environments on a left to right sequence from most to least favourable to the occurrence of the fully-stressed alternant, we shall come up with this picture:

TABLE 17. IMPLICATIONAL SCALE SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FULLY-STRESSED AND WEAKLY-STRESSED PRONOUNS.

P R O N O U N S						
FULLY-STRESSED				WEAKLY-STRESSED		
LECTS	+ Prep	2nd p. D.O.	3rd p. D.O.	1st p. pl. D.O.	1st p. sing. D.O.	I.O. (- prep)
LECT 1	+	+	+	+	+	+
LECT 2	x	+	+	+	+	+
LECT 3	-	x	+	+	+	+
LECT 4	-	-	x	+	+	+
LECT 5	-	-	-	x	+	+
LECT 6	-	-	-	-	x	+
LECT 7	-	-	-	-	-	x
LECT 8	-	-	-	-	-	-

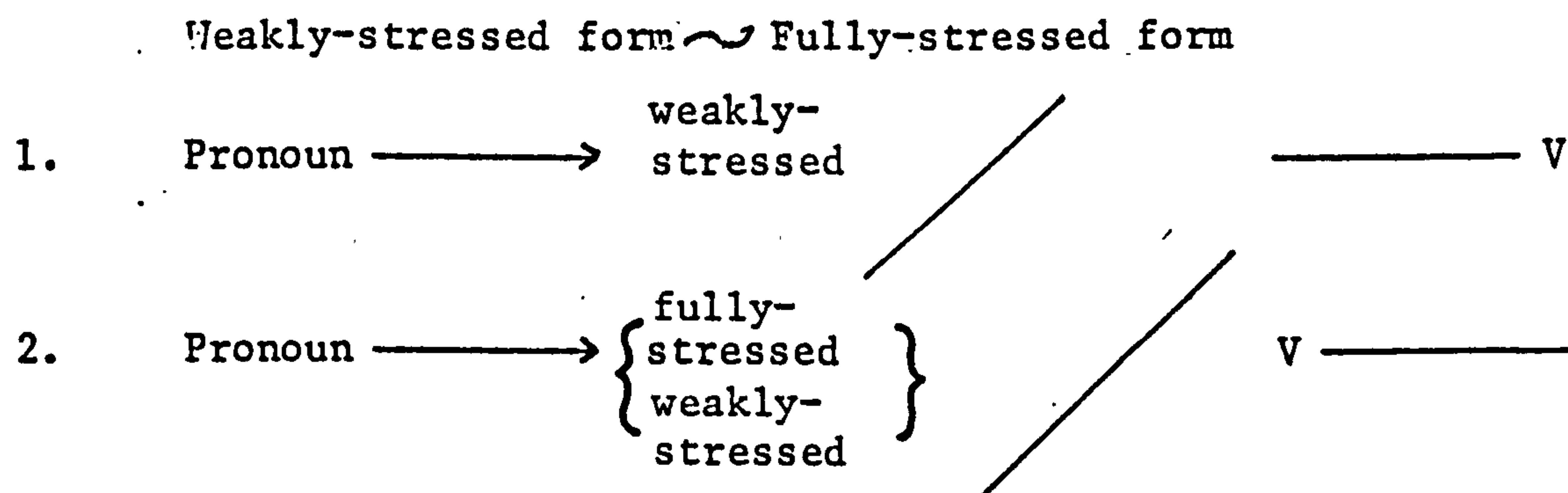
+ = categorical presence x = variable - = categorical absence

Table 17 shows that adjacent lects differ from one another by one single feature and it is through the accumulation of these differences that the extreme lects enter into a categorical opposition. It also shows, by its left to right descending scale of constraint over the fully-stressed alternant, that the presence or absence of a form can be predicted on the basis of the position of the category to which it belongs to the right or left of a certain given feature. So it is that in the present system if, for instance, the oblique form is present under 3rd person D.O., it will also be present in the categories to the right, i.e. 1st person plural and singular D.O. If absent, the categories to the left, i.e. 2nd person D.O. and (+ Prep), will not be filled by the weakly-stressed form. The non-discrete variation pattern displayed by

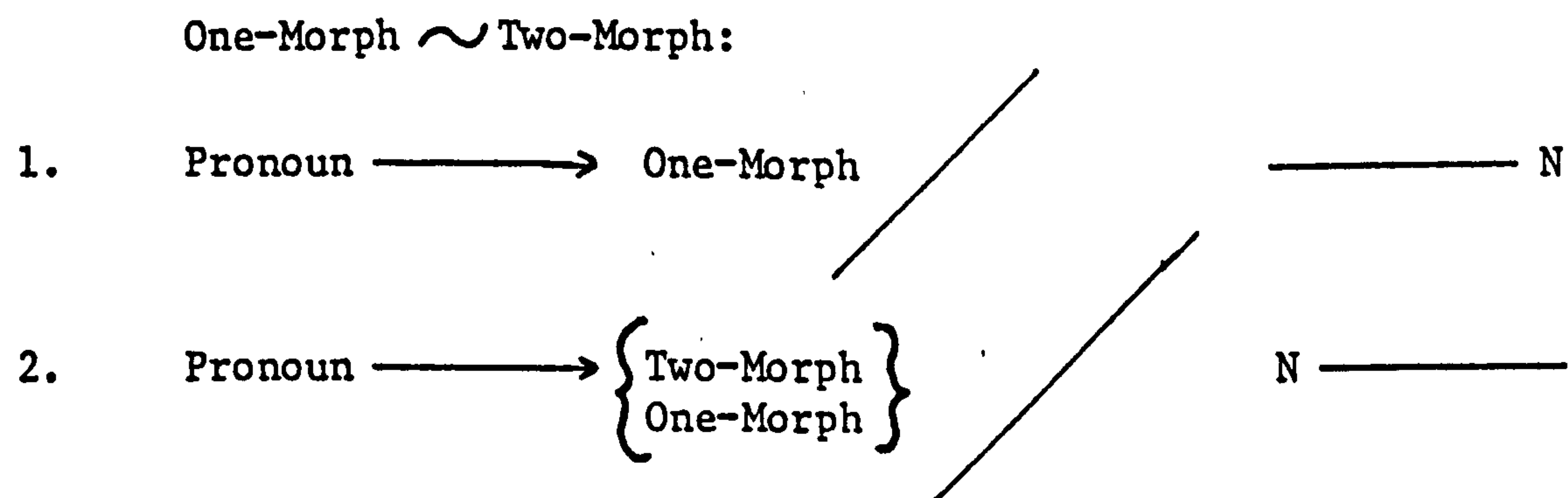
the mesolect, which in its turn overlaps at either end with the basilect and the acrolect, is supporting evidence for the view that the pronoun system operates as a continuum. Below is a formalized account of the basic pattern of variation in the pronoun system.

Personal

Object case:



Possessive:



NOTE: Two-morph is prep + fully-stressed form.

2.7.3 Pronoun Use in Child Language.

Before we bring this section to a close, I would like to point out that, as with negation (Cf. p. 164), the samples which I have gathered of pronominal use in child language tend to confirm our early assumptions that fully-stressed forms are favoured by both basilectal speakers and children.

The examples below have been drawn from the same recording that supplied us with the negative samples, i.e. a dialogue between parent and child:

- (331) E quem deixou você no cavalo? (RFW V - 2:1)
'And who left you on the donkey?'
- (332) Quem ensinou a você, Christian? (RFW V - 4:1)
'Who taught you (that), Christian?'
- (333) Dá um a você também não? (RFW V - 4:2)
'(One) gives one to you too not?'
'Shouldn't I give one to you, too?'

2.8 THE TWO CONTINUA.

2.8.1 Negation.

Basilect:	Ninguém Não		
	Nenhum aluno não		
	Nem o aluno não		
			Redundancy
Mesolect:	Não fez nada		Concord
	Nada fez		Preposing
	Não fez coisa alguma		NÃO/ALG
Acrolect:	Coisa alguma fez		ALG-only

2.8.2 Pronoun.

Basilect:	Eu/nós/ele/ele/dele
Mesolect:	<div> Me/nós/ele/a ele/dele Me/nos/ele/a ele/dele Me/nos/o/a ele/dele Me/nos/o/a ele/seu </div>
Acrolect:	Me/nos/o/lhe/seu

We are now confronted with two continua: one syntactic-negation, and the other morpho-syntactic, the pronoun system. It is time to find out how the two relate to each other, and what amount of correlation can be detected between basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal negation on the one hand, and on the other hand basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal pronoun use.

The lectal movement along the negation axis comprises seven variant types which go from morphologically redundant or basilectal to syntactically negative or acrolectal. The first three variants fall under the class of redundant constructions, the last three are non-redundant, and the one in the centre, concord, shares both characteristics. Concord has been defined as non-redundant in this study (Cf. p.133). Yet it is by definition a process that involves two grammatical mechanisms. On the other hand, like the non-redundant variants, concord utterances are not socially stigmatized. The syntactic structuring of negative concord variation parallels that of the non-redundant variant sets. Negative concord is socially unmarked, i.e. mesolectal.

Now, if we look at the pronoun axis, we shall spot six levels of variation. The third level, that in which the fully-stressed form is the variant under 3rd person D.O., is the mid-mesolectal point and therefore the unmarked lect. However, as one can infer from Table 17, above, 3rd person D.O. does not correspond with negative concord. The concord correlate in the pronoun system is a lect in which o is the 3rd person D.O. variant, and this is a feature of lects marked for prestige. From that point onwards two levels (against three for negation) take

the continuum up to the fully acrolectal pronominal forms. Therefore there is no exact correlation between the two sub-systems in so far as their sociolinguistic significance is concerned. In other words, weakly-stressed pronominal forms and non-redundant negative constructions, both acrolectal, are not equally distributed in the lectal system: weakly-stressed pronoun variants appear in lects where negative redundancy is still in operation.

In the next chapters we shall deal with the way these results are reflected in the findings of the subjective attitude test. In it the negation and the pronoun continua are submitted to the opinion of a group of 48 informants, and their attitudes towards the sociolinguistic value of the alternant forms and constructions so far discussed is taken as the final test of the hypothesis from which this study has developed.

PART IV: THE SUBJECTIVE ATTITUDE TEST

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As indicated on page 26, this test consists of 330 multiple choice and scoring items plus a correction test. I shall be dealing here with the Vitória main trial. The test administered in that trial was the final version of the original one tried out months earlier in Edinburgh. It covered all issues highlighted by the pilot analysis and involved 48¹ respondents of various social and educational backgrounds. The specific questions proposed in the questionnaire are:

1.1 QUESTIONS PROPOSED

1.1.1 Linguistic ill-formedness

Under this heading I tested the acceptability of:

- (i) $\tilde{N}AO_2$, (ii) $nada_f$, and (iii) coisa $nenhuma_f$ in the environment of (D.O. +NEG), (D.O.-NEG) and intransitive verb(V_i).

1.1.2 Lectal incongruence

Within the negation system:

- (i) Preposed NEG + $\tilde{N}AO_r$.
- (ii) Preposed ALG + $\tilde{N}AO_r$
- (iii) Postverbal ALG.
- (iv) ALG-utterance

Cross-system incongruence

1. Some of the questions were not answered by all the respondents. This is largely the case towards the final sections of the questionnaire, when respondents gave up trying. Whenever this happened, I entered the total number of responses into the corresponding tables. Totals range from 39 to 48.

1.1.3 Social acceptability

- (i) Redundant NÃO.
- (ii) Nunca and nem.
- (iii) Pronoun variants.

1.1.4 Formality

The pronoun variants.

Negative constructions:

- (i) Non-basilectal variants.
- (ii) Basilectal variants.

1.1.5 Meaning

- (i) Negative meaning of ALG-utterances.
- (ii) Person referent in seu and o.

1.1.6 Stylistic congruence

- (i) Relationship between first and second negators in a string.

1.2 INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

The results of the test were processed in the following way: For each of the 330 items, a count of the number answering to each category of response was made. The figures for each category were then expressed as percentages of the total number of respondents. Percentages of 70 per cent and over were considered as evidence of good agreement among respondents². However,

2. When the number of possible responses open to informants is only two, one would expect equal numbers responding to the two categories by chance alone. With 39-48 informants, a percentage of 67 per cent in one category is statistically significantly higher than the expected 50 per cent at the 5 per cent probability level. Consequently, I have taken 70 per cent as indicating good agreement, this having a probability of occurring by chance alone of about 0.01. Where there are more than two categories, the probability of 70 per cent agreement on one category by chance will be even smaller.

in certain circumstances, lower values were thought to be not unimportant. They were viewed and discussed in connection with other facts present in the context of the problem as formulated. Scores have served as measures of the absolute as well as relative value of utterances. In the questions posed, socially marked constructions were placed next to their unmarked counterparts and respondents were asked to express their opinions along such parameters as meaning and grammatical acceptability, on the linguistic dimension; and formality, social acceptability, personal satisfaction and rejection, on the social dimension. Meaning and grammatical acceptability have been included to ensure that the negative constructions on which we have been focussing are generally acknowledged as negative and well-formed, and that the meanings that I have claimed for some pronouns are clearly those in use in the community under investigation.

As can be seen in the copy of the questionnaire appended to this study (Cf. Section III), I have attempted to avoid using technical terminology in the formulation of the questions, by placing each task within a perspective familiar to the average informant. Also, I tried to lead the informant to view each problem from more than one standpoint. At times this implied merely a change in labels, as in Sections III, IV and IX, in which acrolectal features are described as 'careful speech', 'formal written language', or 'typical of public addresses', just as mesolectal ones are hinted at as 'frequent' and 'common' in sections III and IV. Obviously, I was not surprised to find out that a form regarded as more pleasing, like dele (as opposed to seu), on one occasion, would be marked as less satisfactory on another occasion (Cf. Section II). This apparent contradiction supports the hypothesis brought out in the earlier part of this work, i.e. dele is mesolectal, whereas seu is acrolectal. This is

precisely what the results of the test tell us. One example of it is the judgement of dele as less satisfactory than seu when it occurs in an utterance that can be said to be a commonplace in graduation valedictory addresses.

At times a hierarchy of acceptability, formality, satisfaction and rejection emerges that reflects relative judgements on sets of utterances. This is, by the way, one of the cases in which scores under 70 per cent have been considered.

In each question there was provision for the classification of any utterance as ungrammatical. This was intended as a means to prevent informants from being forced to take decisions involving degrees of acceptance or formality when they would favour categorical non-acceptance.

CHAPTER 2: THE FINDINGS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

We shall start by looking at meaning and linguistic ill-formedness, since these are basic to any further judgements on the sociolinguistic status of the utterances.

2.2 MEANING

2.2.1 Negation:

Section VII deals with the characterization of positive and negative utterances. The main purpose of that section is to check syntactic negation, as well as the acceptability of utterances in which *NÃO* is deleted without cost, as ordinary negative utterances. Yet a marginal point was also subjected to testing: the negative meaning of positive alguém in pre-negated environments, such as in Jamais alguém apareceu para protestar 'Never somebody appeared to protest'. Contrasting items appearing in that section are *N + alguem* / *alguem* + N, *Ninguém* / *Pessoa alguma*, *V + NEG* / *V + ALG*, among others. Results are shown in Table 18 on the following page.

Most of the figures shown in Table 18 will look inconclusive, if we consider that we are testing a clear-cut semantic polarity, i.e. the utterances represented in the Table are either positive or negative, and this is no negligible meaning contrast. Only four cells show unambiguous results, i.e. figures equal or above the established 70 per cent mark. They are: Adv (*ALG + N*), D.O. (*N_g + ALG*),

TABLE 18. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO POSITIVE/NEGATIVE MEANING

Item No.	158	159	167	168	184	183	174	163	164	165	166	173	172
Total no. of responses	46	47	47	47	45	44	47	46	47	47	47	46	47
U T T E R A N C E T Y P E	ADV (N + ALG)	ADV (ALG + N)	D.O. (N _g + ALG)	D.O. (ALG + N _g)	D.O. (N _s + ALG)	D.O. (ALG + N _s)	JAMAIS ALGUEM	V _i + NÃO	V _i + COISA NENHUMA	V _i + NADA	V _i + COISA ALGUMA	SUBJ.	
	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	ALG	NEG
	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
% correct	61	74	70	98	56	86	53	54	60	64	64	50	55

+ = positive

- = negative

N_g = Noun generic, e.g. 'thing', 'person'N_s = Noun specific, e.g. 'book', 'student'.

D.O. (ALG + N_g) and D.O. (ALG + N_s). It is not surprising that apart from D.O. (N_g + ALG), all of them show the informants' opinion on positive utterances, since there is no question that the (ALG + N) NP carries positive meaning. In fact, they only appear in the chart for the sake of contrast. They are meant to highlight the semantic content of their (N + ALG) negative counterparts.

The low percentage of expected responses in the negative cells turned out to serve another purpose: considering that the negative content of such utterances is a well established fact in the grammar of BP, as we have already demonstrated (Cf. pp, 30, 31), the informants' perplexity shows lack of familiarity with syntactic negation (Cf. p. 113).. Yet the nearly identical results obtained for ALG and NEG-Subj are rather puzzling. The fact that only 55 per cent of the informants considered a NEG-Subj utterance as negative can only indicate that the inconclusive figures have resulted from a misunderstanding of what 'negative utterance' means. All things considered, the 50 per cent and over reached by ALG and post-verbal NEG-utterances is sufficient evidence of their negative value.

2.2.2 Pronouns:

In Section VI informants were asked to give the semantic interpretation that first occurred to them on being presented with utterances containing seu and o. This is how the problem is presented:

Express your opinion on the meaning of the numbered sentences by indicating with an 'x' the interpretation which seems adequate. Decide this on your first impression:

(a) Mano, eu vim no meu carro e Carlos veio no seu jipe.

'Brother, I came in-the my car and Carlos came in-the seu jeep'.

Whose jeep is it?

() Carlos's.

() Brother's.

- (b) Estudantes, o governo não tem condições para solucionar todos os seus problemas.

'Students, the government not have conditions to solve all the seus problems'.

Whose problems are they?

() The government's.

() The students'.

- (c) O chefe da expedição não ficou satisfeito com o seu trabalho.

'The head of the expedition not became satisfied with the seu work'.

Whose work is it?

() The head of the expedition's.

() Of the person to whom the utterance is addressed.

- (d) Faz tempo que não o vejo.

'(It) makes time that (I) not o see'.

How do you understand this utterance?

() Faz tempo que não te vejo.

() Faz tempo que não vejo ele.

(Note that o is an ambiguous form, whereas te (2nd person singular) and ele (3rd person singular) are unambiguous).

Here are the results:

TABLE 19. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES TO POSSESSIVE AND PERSONAL PRONOUN REFERENTS

S E U		O	
2nd	3rd	2nd	3rd
62/73/73	38/27/27	35	65

The 2nd/3rd person contrasts presented in Table 19 indicate a definite preference for seu as a 2nd person possessive and o as 3rd person. If we look at the utterances in which these two forms were inserted (see above), we shall notice that in the case of seu the informants' judgments were indifferent to a deliberate shift in style which should make seu-3 a more suitable reading in b and c. The interpretation of o as 3rd person (65 per cent) is a clue to the range of occurrence of você as the established 2nd person.

2.3 LINGUISTIC ILL-FORMEDNESS VS: SOCIOLINGUISTIC (OR LECTAL) INCONGRUENCE.

'Linguistic' is used here as a qualifying term, to avoid confusion with the incongruence produced by the combination in a single utterance of two non-adjacent lects. The former is a case of sheer linguistic ill-formedness, whereas the latter is the result of conflicting sociolinguistic rules acting upon the same otherwise fully acceptable construction. (Yet Cf. Bickerton, 1975, for a counter-argument on the validity of the socially-motivated approach to ill-formedness.)

Linguistically ill-formed:

- (13) Ele não veio coisa nenhuma não.
 'He not came thing none not'.
 ('He did not come').

Sociolinguistically incongruent:

- (24) Ninguém não fez coisa alguma ...
 'Nobody not did thing some ...'
 ('Nobody did anything ...')

Sociolinguistically incongruent utterances, in their turn, are not to be mistaken for what has been generally accepted as socially stigmatized. Rather, they fit in well with what Bickerton (1975) refers to, in the course of his argument, as socially ill-formed, i.e. 'lectal mixtures' which are "barred in a way and for reasons similar to those that operate in the case of sentences such as '*procrastination drinks quadruplicity'" (1975:183). He further suggests that,

as the latter are judged semantically anomalous because semantically ill-formed, so the former [and here he refers to an instance of lectal mixture in Guyanese Creole] would be judged socially meaningless because socially-ill formed.

For the sake of comparison, let us take a look at (29) below, which illustrates social stigmatization.

(29) Ninguém não disse nada.

Informants' judgements on these utterances establish (29) as uneducated, and (13) and (24) as unacceptable. (13) is rendered unacceptable by virtue of the accumulation of two sentence-final negators in the same utterance: coisa nenhuma and não; (24) results from lectal mixture (or incongruence): Ninguém não is basilectal, whereas coisa alguma is acrolectal.

Although Bickerton soon dismisses this argument as only superficially convincing (p. 183), I shall take it up as a fair description of the lectal clashes which I have observed.

Under linguistic ill-formedness I have submitted to the judgement of our forty-eight informants the following classes of utterances:

- (i) With sentence-finals accumulation.
- (ii) With positive alguém.
- (iii) With NÃO-deletion - without - cost.
- (iv) With (+ Prep) possessives, other than dele.

2.3.1 With Sentence-Finals Accumulation:

TABLE 20. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO ACCEPTABILITY OF DOUBLE SENTENCE-FINALS

Item no.	13			14		
Total no. of responses	48			46		
Construction type	V_i + COISA NENHUMA + NÃO			V_i + NADA + NÃO		
Response	not acceptable	+ acceptable	fully acceptable	not acceptable	+ acceptable	fully acceptable
%	58	36	6	63	33	4

It is clear from Table 20 that informants' responses to double sentence-final negators of this type point to unacceptability. In fact, there is a general rejection of negation repeaters other than NÃO:

TABLE 21. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO SINGLE SENTENCE-FINAL AND NÃO₂:

Item no.		5			6	
Total no. of responses		47			47	
Construction type		S + NADA _f			S + NÃO ₂	
Cate-gories	not acceptable	<u>+</u> acceptable	fully acceptable	not acceptable	<u>+</u> acceptable	fully acceptable
%	25	45	30	0	11	89

The sequence nada não, while not quite acceptable as a sentence-final (Cf. Table 20), is nearly fully acceptable when nada is D.O.:

TABLE 22. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO D.O. nada + NÃO.

Item no.	1		
Utterance	ELE NÃO FEZ NADA NÃO		
Cate-gories	not acceptable	<u>+</u> acceptable	fully acceptable
%	0	17	83

Yet even NÃO₂, when in alternation with (- NÃO₂), is regarded as a feature of less satisfactory speech. In XI, (232) Ninguém veio is coupled with (231) Ninguém veio não and informants are asked to specify which of the two is more satisfactory. Here is a picture of the informants' preferences:

TABLE 23. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES TO (+ NÃO₂) AND (- NÃO₂) UTTERANCES

Variants	232		231	
Total no. of responses	44		43	
Categories	+	-	+	-
%	100	0	9	91

+ = more satisfactory
- = less satisfactory

In Section IV, (110) Ele não veio não is contrasted with (109) Ele não veio de forma nenhuma and (111) Ele não veio de forma alguma, and informants are asked to score the three utterances on a 1 to 3 scale, by assigning 1 to the best representative of careful speech. This is the order that emerged:

TABLE 24. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREE OF FORMALITY.

Variants	Total no. of responses	Categories		
		1	2	3
110	45	7	11	82
109	47	19	68	13
111	45	78	20	2

Interestingly enough, while sentence-final nada não is virtually rejected (Cf. Table 20), and explicitly marked as 'un-Portuguese' by a Portuguese teacher, it has been present extensively in the data. Particularly interesting is the appearance of sentence-final nada não in a TV soap opera:

(206) Eu não convidei ele nada não.

'I not invited he nothing not'.

('I did not invite him').

The fact that no reaction has been attested to the combination of sentence-final nada não with D.O. ele suggests that utterance (206) is not incongruent. Since D.O. ele has been established as meso-basilectal, we are led to believe that nada não, too, correlates with the informal end of the lectal continuum.

2.3.2 With Positive alguém 'somebody'.

Alguém was submitted to the informants' judgement in an utterance in which it is preceded by jamais (Cf. Section VIII, c : Jamais alguém disse nada). Informants were asked to rewrite the utterance if it required correction or to leave it as it was if they regarded it as satisfactory. The result was that 73 per cent left it unaltered and, among those who did suggest alterations, 15 per cent either altered other parts of the utterance while retaining the (NEG + alguém) sequence or replaced alguém by ninguém. The remaining 12 per cent offered rewritings that showed either that they understood the utterance as positive or that they could make nothing of it.

2.3.3 With NÃO-deletion-without-cost

Sections XIV and XVI deal with the acceptability of utterances with NÃO-deletion-without-cost. In Section XIV (+ NÃO_{pv}) and (- NÃO_{pv}) utterances are paired, and informants are asked to indicate which of the two is more satisfactory and whether the other member of the pair is just less satisfactory, or unacceptable. Postverbal negators are

deliberately made to occur in various syntactic functions, and test utterances appear in two forms: statements and short answers. Reactions to the (+ NÃO_{pv}) / (- NÃO_{pv}) alternation is best seen when postverbal is nunca.

TABLE 25. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO ACCEPTABILITY OF NÃO_{pv} DELETION

Variants	Total no. of responses	Construction type	Categories		
			+	B	N
279	43	ø + V + nunca	5	23	72
280	42	nÃo + V + nunca	95	0	5

+ = more satisfactory

B = less satisfactory

N = non-acceptable

The acceptable/unacceptable polarity is not so clear-cut in the remaining pairs, but there is a consistent preference for the (+ NÃO) utterances. However, unacceptability is not always as high as shown in Table 25. In fact, when the postverbal negator is NÃO, utterances score as low as 23 per cent for unacceptability (Cf. item 287). As for the others, unacceptability ranges between 30 and 40 per cent. Ele veio nada is marked as unacceptable by only 31 per cent of the informants (Cf. item 296). Over 50 per cent regard it as just less satisfactory than its (+ NÃO) counterpart.

In Section XVI another dimension is added to the test: the effect of NÃO_f on the acceptability of NÃO_{pv}-deleted utterances. The assumption was that the presence of NÃO_f would make for greater acceptability.

In other words, an utterance like Ele veio nunca não would be more acceptable than Ele veio nunca.

A feature of Section XVI that should not go unnoticed is that it does not supply informants with a (+NÃO) alternative. This is evidently a limitation which will leave its marks on the overall results. The question proposed is which of the utterances is the more common. As before, allowance is made for the indication of rejection of either or both utterances. On the whole, it appears that $N\tilde{A}O_f$ has no effect on the grammaticality of a $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ -deleted utterance, since results point to an equally divided judgement. The best example of this is the (\emptyset + nada)/(\emptyset + nada não) alternation, in which responses were the same: both received around 46 per cent of the total response for 'not very common' and 39 per cent for 'common'.

On the strength of these results and all things considered, we are in a position to admit the well-formedness of these $N\tilde{A}O$ -deleted utterances, particularly in cases where the postverbal negator is a sentence-final.

2.3.4 With (+ Prep) Possessives Other Than dele.

The (+ Prep) possessives appear in question XV. They are: de eu, de nós, de você, de vocês. Results confirm the expected hierarchy of acceptance of the (+ Prep) possessives. It starts at de vocês and ends at de eu. In the Table on the following page, three degrees of acceptance are presented.

TABLE 26. PERCENTAGE SHOWING REACTION TO (+ PREP) POSSESSIVES.

Item No	Total no. of responses	Possessive forms	Categories		
			0	B	1
318	43	DE VOCÊS	26	9	65
317		DE VOCÊ	65	5	30
314		DE NÓS	79	9	12
313		DE EU	98	0	2

0 = worse

B = Blank (= O.K.)

1 = better

As the question of well-formedness was not explicitly offered as an alternative, we can be sure that the figures under 0 are indicative of degrees of unacceptability. The position of the figures in the table shows that a line has been drawn between de vocês and the other forms. This line separates acceptability from unacceptability. The three unacceptable forms were detected in child speech, and it is as such that they have been marked by one of the informants.

2.4 LECTAL INCONGRUENCE

The problems handled under this heading revolve around the presence of NÃO in the following environments:

- (i) Preposed NEG.
- (ii) Preposed ALG.
- (iii) Preverbal ALG.
- (iv) ALG-utterance.

2.4.1 Preposed NEG and ALG.

Here we are dealing with an instance of NÃO-deletion-with-cost.

I have tested the reinsertion of NÃO, once preposing and deletion had been carried out. The question was put in terms of acceptability.

In Table 27, below, I display the results obtained for variants (18)

Ele nada nÃo fez em favor dos estudantes 'He nothing not did in favour of the students' and (22) Ele coisa alguma nÃo fez em favor dos estudantes 'He thing some not did in favour of the students' .

TABLE 27. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO COMBINATION OF NÃO WITH NEG/ALG

Item no	Construction type	Categories		
		1	2	N
18	Preposed NEG + NÃO	12	40	48
22	Preposed ALG + NÃO	14	44	42

- 1 = Fully acceptable
2 = More or less acceptable
N = Not acceptable

Table 27 illustrates a lectal clash: NÃO-deletion-with-cost is a feature of the acrolect, whereas reduntant NÃO is typically basilectal. Therefore, the combination of the two features in a single utterance characterizes sociolinguistic ill-formedness. This is reflected in the informants' reactions to utterances 18 and 22: neither has been granted full acceptance and both have been marked as unacceptable by almost 50 per cent of the informants. It will be

useful to compare this state of affairs with what will be discussed shortly, i.e. the role of $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ in the environment of unmarked NEG_{pv} (Cf. p. 227). Let it be said at this point that the two types of utterances are grammatically identical at one level of analysis (Cf. p.132). Yet the fact that only one is the product of lectal switch explains the different positions assumed by informants for dealing with them.

2.4.2 Subject ALG

This is the case in which ALG is in its unmarked position. Yet we already know that ALG-negation is acrolectal. Combining it with $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_r$ will obviously produce an effect similar to that just described. Here are the results for utterance (26) Pessoa alguma não fez coisa alguma em favor dos estudantes 'Person some not did thing some in favour of the students'.

TABLE 28. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO ACCEPTABILITY OF SUBJ-ALG + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_r$

Item no	Form/Function	Categories		
		1	2	N
26	Subj-ALG	15	35	50

As expected, 85 per cent of the informants did not regard Subj- ALG + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ as fully acceptable, and 50 per cent declared it unacceptable.

2.4.3 ALG-utterance

By ALG-utterance I mean an utterance containing at least one ALG-form. In this case it is $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$ that enters into combination with the sentence, thus making it an unsuitable candidate for the well-formedness test. Yet the clash between ALG and $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$ is not so obvious as that observed for ALG and $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_r$ (see above). The reason for this is that the former is an instance of lectal shift, while the latter is an acrolect/basilect switch. In other words, $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$ occurs in informal varieties but is not socially stigmatized in ESP. Therefore, the combination of $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$ with ALG is only an acrolect/mesolect shift, unlike ($\text{ALG} + \tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_r$): we already know (Cf. pp. 71, 117) that $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_{pv}$ becomes redundant when preverbal is NEG, and redundancy is basilectal. I shall now supply evidence for the differential status of the two combinations by examining the test results for the ALG-utterance:

In Section II, $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$ appears in combination with NEG and ALG utterances, and informants are asked to point out which utterances are more satisfactory. As before, a cell is provided for the indication of unacceptability, whenever the informants find occasion for it. The results obtained are shown in the table below:

TABLE 29 . PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO COMBINATIONS OF $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$ with NEG/ALG UTTERANCES:

PAIRS	ITEM NO.	NEG/ALG VARIANT UTTERANCES + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$	CATEGORIES		
			+	-	N
1	37	NEG + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$	31	58	11
	38	ALG + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$	12	65	23
2	39	ALG + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$	25	62	13
	40	NEG + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$	86	10	4
3	43	NEG + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$	67	31	2
	44	ALG + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$	23	69	8
4	49	ALG + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$	8	65	27
	50	NEG + $\tilde{N}\tilde{A}O_f$	89	9	2

If we compare Table 29 with Table 28 on page 222 we shall notice that the rate of unacceptability is far higher for (ALG + NÃO_r) than it is for ALG-utterances + NÃO_f. (Just as it is higher for (ALG + NÃO_f) than for (NEG + NÃO_f)). Yet the figures in the central column, in Table 30, show that ALG-utterances + NÃO_f are regarded as less satisfactory than their (NEG + NÃO_f) counterparts by 64 per cent compared to 58 per cent, 62 per cent to 10 per cent, 69 per cent to 31 per cent and 65 per cent to 9 per cent. On the other hand, the first column, except for the first two figures, show a consistent preference for NEG-utterance + NÃO_f : 85 per cent over 25 per cent for the second pair, 67 per cent over 23 per cent for the third pair, and 89 per cent over 8 per cent for the last pair. The difference is much smaller for the first pair, but a greater percentage still preferred (NEG + NÃO_f).

By way of contrast and to supply further evidence for the incompatibility of NÃO with ALG, I shall look at the pairs of utterances in Section III, in which ALG and NEG contrast but NÃO is of no significance. The problem proposed is to indicate which of the two utterances the informant would choose to use in a formal speech and which was suitable for ordinary use. In each case, results point to the ALG-utterances as adequate for formal speeches and the NEG ones as ordinary. I shall illustrate the point with just one pair: (87) Ele não foi a lugar algum 'He not went to place some' and (88) Ele não foi a lugar nenhum 'He not went to place none'.

TABLE 30. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO NEG/ALG ALTERNATION

Item No.	Categories	
	1	2
88	23	77
87	81	19

1 = formal
2 = ordinary

2.5 CROSS-SYSTEM LECTAL SWITCH

I have already shown the type of relationship that joins up the negation and pronoun continua (Cf. pp.201, 202,203).Below are examples of utterances in which pronoun and negation variants are combined. The results show the degree of lectal switching acknowledged by informants, and the amount of solidarity detected between the two systems. Here are the utterances:

- (215) Os rapazes nunca revelaram seus segredos a pessoa alguma.
(216) Os rapazes jamais revelaram seus segredos a pessoa alguma.
(217) Os rapazes jamais revelaram os segredos deles a pessoa alguma.
('The boys never revealed their secrets to anybody').

TABLE 31. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO COMBINATION OF NEGATIVE AND PRONOUN FORMS IN THE SAME UTTERANCE

Item No.	Total No. of Responses	Categories				
		1	2	3	4	N
215	41	34	42	22	0	2
216	41	63	27	5	5	0
217	40	0	18	32	45	5

1 = Most representative sample of formal written language.
2, 3, 4 = Gradually less representative.
N = Non-acceptable.

The above shows that there are constraints on linguistic variation that operate across systems. In the case in point, the alternation SEU ~ DELE interacts with ALG ~ NEG, giving the following results:

1. Jamais/seus/pessoa alguma is favoured over nunca/seus/pessoa alguma and jamais/deles/pessoa alguma.
2. Nunca/seus/pessoa alguma is favoured over jamais/deles/pessoa alguma.
3. Nunca is more acrolectal than deles.

Other cases of co-occurrence of pronoun and negation forms which have been checked are those included in utterances 218 through 230.

Co-occurring forms are:

1. Jamais/vocês.
2. Nunca/vocês.
3. Jamais/os.
4. Você/ninguém/a.
5. Você/pessoa alguma/a.
6. Sua/pessoa alguma.
7. Dele/ninguém.
8. Dele/pessoa alguma.
9. De vocês/nada/ele.
10. Seu/coisa alguma/o.
11. Seu/nada/o.

In each case results confirm the general conclusion just brought forward.

2.6 SOCIAL ACCEPTABILITY

2.6.1 Redundant NÃO

Responses to NÃO_r are of a different kind from that just discussed under sociolinguistic ill-formedness. This is not to say that such utterances have been bypassed by informants or that their social marking has been overlooked. Quite the contrary. Throughout the test, redundant utterances have been either treated as basilectal or discarded as unacceptable. As I said earlier (Cf. p.117), NÃO_r in the environment of (Nem + NP) and (Nenhum + N) was a late addition. This explains why it does not appear in the test. Redundancy in the test is NÃO_r in the environment of ninguém, nunca and nem.

2.6.1.1 Ninguém.

Ninguém não is tested in Sections VIII and IX. In VIII the redundant utterance is one of four offered for alteration, in case the informant found it lacking in grammatical accuracy or stylistic appropriateness. The utterance given was a straightforward Ninguém não disse nada que prestasse 'Nobody not said nothing that served' ('Nobody said anything useful'). Here is how informants reacted to it:

TABLE 32. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO REDUNDANT NINGUÉM

Utterance	A l t e r e d		Left Unaltered
VIII - b	NÃO <u>is omitted</u>	NÃO omitted plus <u>other alterations</u>	23
	56	21	

In IX ninguém não is part of a matching test, in which informants are asked to match each of the 29 utterances given with one of the four suggestions offered as appropriate descriptions of the phenomena under testing. The suggestions can be explained in the following terms:

- (1) the utterance is outside the informant's experience,
both productive and receptive;
- (2) the utterance is only used by uneducated speakers;
- (3) the utterance is a hybrid: it combines two conflicting lects;
- (4) the utterance can be detected in the speech of educated speakers.

Results show that out of eight utterances containing the Ninguém + NÃO sequence in preverbal position, four were thought to be adequately described in (2) by more than 60 per cent of informants, and (1) got more than 50 per cent of the same response. The utterances that drew less than 50 per cent of (2) responses are cases of lectal switch: part of the utterance is at least mesolectal. This explains the informant's hesitation in matching them with (2). In these cases what we have observed is either a divided response as in (192) Ninguém não disse a mim que vai voltar 'Nobody not said to me that goes return' or a preference for (4), as in (186) Ninguém não o viu na festa 'Nobody not saw him in the party' and (197) Ninguém não nos disse que vai voltar 'Nobody not us said that goes return'. We should also note that nowhere has (1) drawn a number of responses of any significance. If we compare these results with those obtained for Preposed NEG + NÃO (Cf. p. 221) and ALG-Subj + NÃO, we shall see that each environment will act upon NÃO in a particular way, and each

sequence will give rise to a specific sociolinguistic class.

2.6.1.2 Nunca and nem

My early assumption was that redundant ninguém, nunca and nem fitted within a hierarchy of social acceptance, with (Ninguém + NÃO) as most acceptable and (nem + NÃO) as least. If we return to page 68, we shall see the first mention of this problem. Later on (p.69) I anticipated the results which are now fully displayed: Section IX (Items 200/1/3/4):

TABLE 33. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO REDUNDANT NEM AND NUNCA

Item no	Total no of responses	Construction type	Categories			
			1	2	3	4
200	41	NEM + NÃO	58	32	10	0
201	43	NEM + NÃO	56	30	14	0
203	41	NUNCA + NÃO	24	61	15	0
204	42	NUNCA + NÃO	26	38	24	12

1 = Un-Portuguese

3 = Incongruent

2.= Uneducated speech

4 = Educated speech (Cf. p. 235)

These figures, when associated with the results for Ninguém não, will confirm the hypotheses set out on page 68 according to which ninguém + NÃO, nunca + NÃO and nem + NÃO have each a different social status. Nunca + NÃO and nem + NÃO border on unacceptability, with nem + NÃO being less favoured. Ninguém não is linguistically fully acceptable but socially rejected.¹

1. Though nunca não and nem não are not discarded as ungrammatical by an overall majority of informants, I have decided to omit them from the final analysis on the strength of the additional evidence supplied by the fieldwork, i.e. they have not been traced in the data gathered. (Yet, Cf. footnote 9, p. 266).

2.6.2 Pronoun Variants: Personal

Pronoun forms eu, você, ele, nós have been included in the test alongside their alternants me, o/lhe-2, o/lhe-3 and nos, respectively. However, as we are now dealing with social unacceptability alone, we shall for the moment restrict this description to the basi-mesolectal alternants. This means that we shall be focussing our attention on the following pairs of alternants: eu \sim me, ele \sim o, nós \sim nos. The other forms will be incorporated later, when we take up the acrolect.

This problem is dealt with in Sections V, VI and XV. In Section V informants are confronted with three alternant forms of the 3rd person pronoun: ø, a and ela. They are asked to score the three utterances in which these forms appear by assigning 1 to the most frequent and so on until the least frequent. Curiously enough, responses are almost equally divided between 1 and 2 for ø, a draws a majority response to 3, and ela shows disagreement, as shown below:

TABLE 34. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF 3RD PERSON PRONOUN FORMS

Item No	Total No. of Responses	Categories		
		1	2	3
147 (<u>ø</u>)	45	45	51	4
148 (<u>a</u>)	46	33	13	54
149 (<u>ela</u>)	44	30	34	36

Table 34 shows that a is regarded as the most infrequent of the three forms. The divided results obtained for ela are syntomatic. The

The overwhelming presence of ela in the spontaneous data and the fact that it occurs in a wide range of lects (see Appendix, RFW II-9, III-5, IV-4 for illustrations) are evidence that it is well established as an object pronoun form. The reasons why results here are inconclusive might be traced to either (1) reluctance to admit the scope of use of a heavily censored form, (2) lack of awareness of the frequent occurrence of the form, or (3) misinterpretation of the question proposed. Let us look at other sections of the test to check which of the three alternatives is likely to prove true.

2.6.2.1 The Rejection Scale

D.O. ele reappears in Section IX, together with the other pronominal forms, in a lengthy test on the sociolinguistic status of both pronouns and negators. I shall select three out of the 29 test utterances in order to show how ele is handled, by comparison with eu and nós. For the moment, I shall concentrate on the answer coded as '2', which stands for 'uneducated'. The utterances selected are:

- (208) Pessoa alguma entende ele.
('Person some understands he').
- (209) Ele não viu eu não.
('He not saw I not').
- (211) Ele não viu nós não.
('He not saw we not'):

On the following page, the informants' responses are displayed on a rejection scale:

FIGURE 8. PRONOUN USES IN THE 1ST AND 3RD PERSON

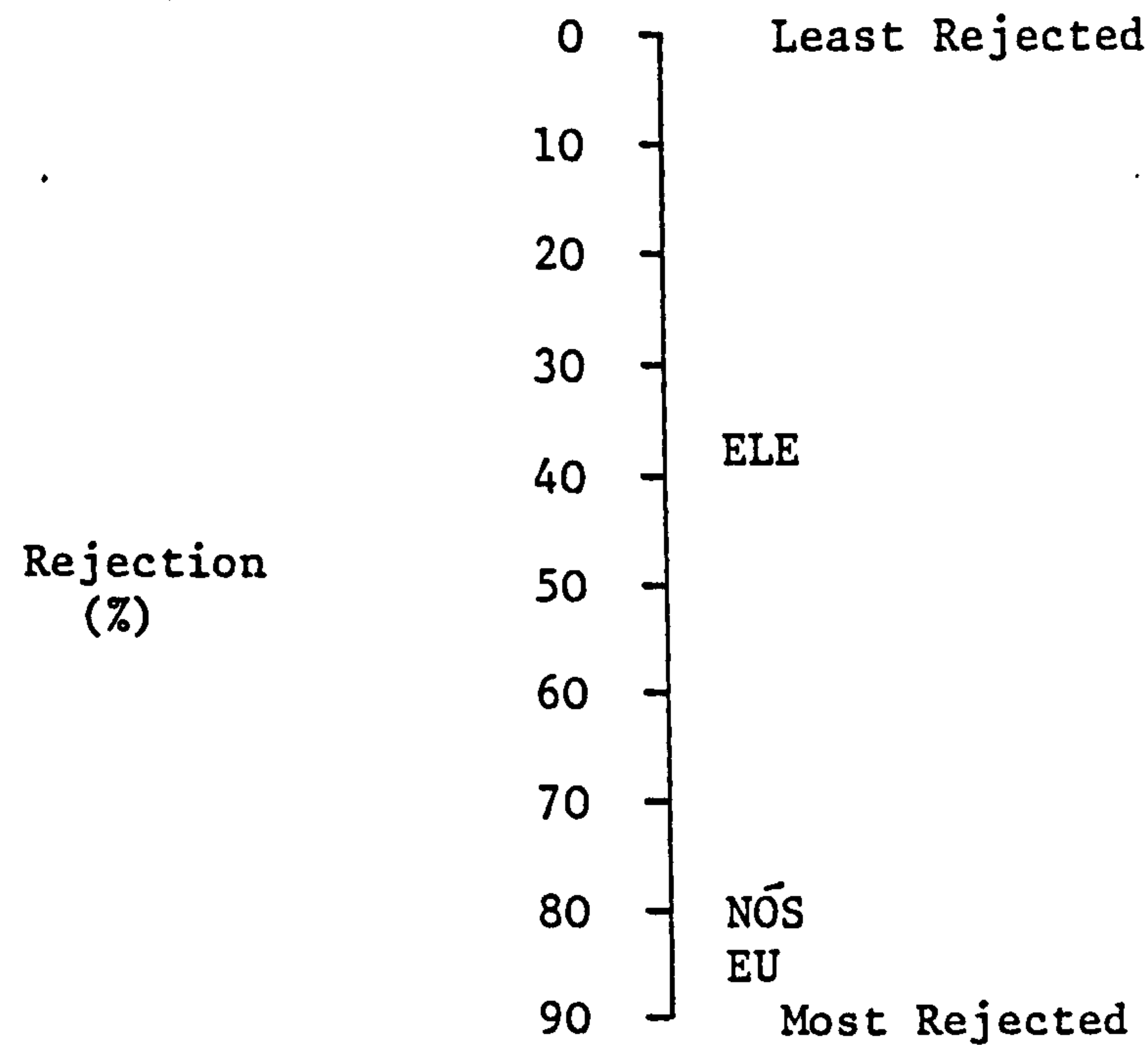
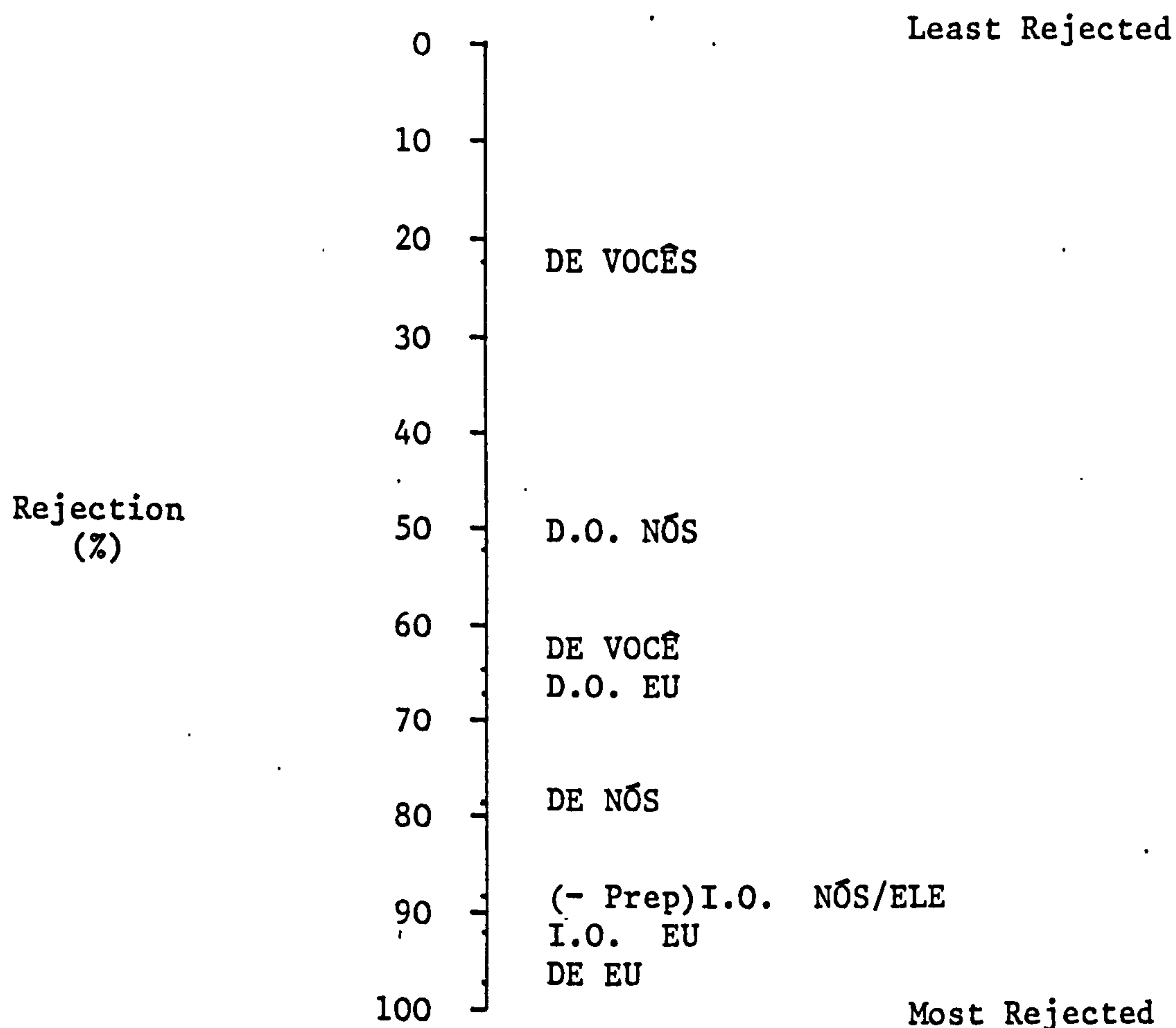


Figure 8 shows that ele is the least rejected of the three forms. If we compare these results with those obtained for other fully-stressed forms in Section XV, this tendency for D.O. ele to be granted social acceptance in advance of other forms will be seen in a better light. In Section XV informants are asked to express their dissatisfaction (rather than satisfaction) with pronoun uses which are assumed to be near- or fully-basilectal, by indicating most rejected (or 'worst') by means of a '0'. The following results have been recorded:

FIGURE 9. HIERARCHY OF REJECTION OF PRONOUN FORMS.



The two rejection scales together show that D.O. ele is in the same region as de vocês which, as we have seen (Cf. p. 177), is a fully acceptable form. This leads us to think that speakers are well aware of the status of ele as a non-rejected form.

This awareness shows through again in Section IX, when the utterance coded as item 187 (Ninguém viu ele na festa) is marked by 36 per cent of the informants as likely to be detected in educated use, while a relatively low number of informants stated that it was typical of uneducated speech. This shows that 97 per cent of the informants agree that ele has a wide distribution. It cannot, therefore, be a rare form, especially if we consider that uneducated speech is by far the more generalized mode of speaking.

In view of the evidence shown in Figures 8 and 9, we are led to infer that ele is by far the least rejected of the pronoun variants in object position. Later on (see section on formality, to follow), further evidence will show that ele is clearly favoured over its acrolectal counterpart o. These findings should lead us to reconsider the results shown in Table 34.

On page 231 I suggest three reasons for the divided response displayed in Table 34. As we now look back on the problem, we realize that the first two reasons together account for the results obtained, and that they are inter-related: the informants' unawareness of the overwhelming occurrence of object ele in BP is brought about by the pressures exerted by the linguistic stereotypes set up by the educational system.

2.7 THE FORMALITY SCALE

2.7.1 The Pronoun Variants.

We shall start by examining the findings concerning the informants' responses to acrolectal pronoun uses. By doing so, we shall be supplying the information missing from the previous section, in which only meso-basilectal uses were considered. In this section variants will be approached by their semantic groupings. Basilectal variants will then be viewed in relation to their acrolectal counterparts and once again the role of ele will be highlighted. As pointed out on page 230, we are dealing with the following classes of variants:

1. D.O. eu ~ me
2. D.O. você ~ o
3. I.O. você ~ lhe
4. D.O. ele ~ o.
5. I.O. ele ~ lhe.
6. D.O. nós ~ nos
7. L.O. nós ~ nos
8. + Prep o ~ - Prep o.
9. seu ~ dele
10. seu ~ de você

Let us now look at the figures obtained for each variant. As some of the results come from Section IX, we shall deal with it first.

As we have seen (Cf. p.228), in Section IX informants are asked to indicate which of the four optional statements offered is an adequate description of each of the 29 utterances listed. The 29 utterances are all samples of negative and pronoun uses, either in separate constructions or combined in one single utterance for purposes of pinpointing congruent combinations or clashes between the two lectal continua. Among the 29 utterances there are some which are illustrative of the problem under study. Representative samples are shown, and the results obtained are displayed, in the following tables.

For working purposes, we shall sum up the four optional statements just referred to under the following categories:

1. Un-Portuguese.
2. Uneducated speech.

3. Incongruent.
4. Educated speech.

Now we turn to the findings to discover what type of response has been given to variants 1 through 10 (above).

2.7.1.1 D.O. 'eu ~ me

These two alternants have been tested in the following pair of referentially identical utterances:

- (209) Ele não viu eu não
'He not saw I not'.
(210) Ele não me viu não
'He not me saw not'.

Results are as follows:

TABLE 35. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE OF PRONOUN FORMS

Item No.	Total No. of Responses	Categories			
		1	2	3	4
209	43	5	86	9	0
210	43	0	40	7	53

Table 35 shows that there is sufficient agreement on the classification of D.O. eu as uneducated. Yet only 53 per cent of the informants agree that D.O. me is accepted standard usage, while an unexpected 40 per cent marked it as uneducated speech. This would have been a puzzling result were we not aware of earlier findings (see p.157),

which point to sentence-final NÃO as a clear marker of meso-basilectal speech. It is obvious then that the hesitation revealed by the figures in Table 36 are indications that the informant did not know how to handle the combination in the same utterance of educated D.O. me and the meso-basilectal sentence-final NÃO. This, of course, gives a new significance to the 53 per cent mark, as it shows that, despite the presence in the utterance of a meso-basilectal feature, an absolute majority of informants have agreed that it is typical of acrolectal speech.

2.7.1.2 Nos as an acrolectal feature

Items (195) Ninguém nos disse que vai voltar

'Nobody us said that goes return'

('Nobody told us that he is going to return')

and (212) Ele não nos viu não

'He not us saw not'

('He did not see us')

in Section IX (see below) have yielded the following results:

TABLE 36. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE OF PRONOUN FORMS

NOS Item No.	Total No. of Responses	Categories			
		1	2	3	4
195	43	9	9	12	70
212	43	2	19	12	67

If we compare these results with those recorded on pages 233 and 253 for utterances in which the variant nos has been favoured, we shall notice that the figures obtained reveal a swing away from the basilect when nos is favoured over nós. I think that this is sufficient evidence that nos is a meso-acrolectal form and nós is basilectal.² Yet if we compare 212 with (211) Ele não viu nós não, we shall avail ourselves of important additional evidence (Section IX).

TABLE 37. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY

Item No.	Total No. of Responses	Categories			
		1	2	3	4
211	43	5	81	7	7
212	43	2	19	12	67

2.7.1.3 Você ~ o

We shall now turn to Sections IV and X, to find out how informants have responded to the você ~ o alternation.

In Section IV informants are asked to assign a mark of 1 to the utterance which to their minds appears to be the best sample of cultivated speech, and 2 to the next best sample and so on until each set of utterances is accounted for. For the purposes of this analysis I have singled out a minimal pair of utterances:

2. See page 182 for reasons why intermediate form a gente has been left out of the scale.

(125) Eu não o vi na festa.

(126) Eu não vi você na festa.

TABLE 38. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY

Item No.	Total No. of Responses	Categories			
		1	2	3	4
125	47	92	4	4	0
126	45	7	44	49	0

The results above show a clear discrimination between o and você as features of acrolectal and non-acrolectal language, respectively: while 91 per cent of the informants considered the o-utterance the most cultivated in a set of three, 92 per cent agreed that the você-utterance could not be assigned the highest mark.

The third element in the set was a te-utterance:

(127) Ele não te viu na festa.

'He not you saw in the party'.

('He did not see you at the party')

Although te does not fall within any of the categories we have set up³, I am considering it because of the interest it arouses in connection with address agreement, as we shall see (p. 267). For the time being, I shall simply mention that the te-utterance produced results which are similar to those displayed for você, that

3. Te is historically related to personal subject tu which, as we have seen (pp. 267, 270) hardly ever occurs in ESP. As we are focussing on object pronouns which alternate with historically related acrolectal subject morphemes not uniquely related to the subject case, te falls outside the bounds of this analysis.

is, 11 per cent of responses for 1, 46 per cent for 2 and 43 per cent for 3.

In Section X the same type of problem is proposed as in IV. Yet in that particular case, in the formulation of the problem I assume that by then the informants should be able to understand the meaning of 'formal'. For this reason, acrolectal utterances were explicitly referred to as typical of formal written language. Informants were then asked to assign mark 1 to the most formal member of each set of utterances and to proceed along a descending scale of formality, down to the least formal. In Table 39, below, I show the results obtained for the following set:

- (221) Maria, por onde você anda que ninguém a vê?
(224) Maria, por onde você anda que ninguém vê você?
('Maria, where have you been, that nobody sees you?'
(218) Moços, jamais vi vocês tão desencorajados.
(220) Moços, jamais os vi tão desencorajados.
('Young men, I have never seen you looking so disheartened')

TABLE 39. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY

Pairs of Utterances	Item No.	Total No. of Responses	Categories				
			1	2	3	4	N
1	221	41	46	39	10	3	2
	224	39	3	13	38	46	0
2	218	40	0	75	25	0	0
	220	44	98	2	0	0	0

1 = best representative of formal written language
2, 3, 4 = gradually less representative.
N = non-acceptable.

Other examples confirm the results just displayed (Cf. 107/8 for judgement as to which utterance would be suitable in a public address, and which was typical of every-day speech).

The favoured reading of o as 2nd person points to its limited range of occurrence in BP: it is confined to acrolectal uses.

2.7.1.4 I.O. Você ~ lhe (Section IV):

Results for the você ~ lhe alternation are shown below, with utterances (143) Eu queria falar com você mas não a vi and (144) Eu queria falar-lhe mas não a vi 'I wanted to talk to you but I didn't see you'.

TABLE 40. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY

Variants	Total No. of Responses	Categories			
		1	2	3	4
143	45	34	42	13	11
144	46	63	24	11	2

1 = most careful
 2, 3 and 4 = gradually less careful.

2.7.1.5 I.O. Ele ~ lhe

Utterances (99) Eu disse a ele que não viesse and (100) Eu lhe disse que não viesse 'I told him not to come', below, illustrate the response obtained for the ele ~ lhe alternation.

TABLE 41. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY

Variants	Categories	
	1	2
99	19	81
100	83	17

1 = typical of public addresses

2 = ordinary language

Utterances 99 and 100 were taken from Section III of the questionnaire. Considering that the question was posed in terms of an either/or contrast, we can interpret the value of 1 and 2 as representing, not relative formality, but the opposition (+ formal).

Lhe is ambiguous, like o. If we compare the responses obtained for lhe-3 (Cf. 144 and 100), we shall notice that there is more agreement over the acrolectal character of lhe-3 than of lhe-2. Besides, você is closer to lhe in the informants' judgement (63 to 33) than ele is (83 to 19). This shows that, unlike o, lhe is felt to be more acrolectal in the 3rd person reading, than in the 2nd.

2.7.1.6 D.O. Ele ~ o.

Items (228) Meninos, seu destino está traçado e nada vai mudar ele and (230) Meninos, seu destino está traçado e nada o mudará 'Boys, your destiny is sealed and nothing will change it', in Section X, are samples of ele- and o- utterances, respectively. Informants are

asked to discriminate between samples of formal writing and samples of gradually less formal varieties, down to the most informal ones. Ele and o, among others, are then inserted into utterances which sometimes arrange themselves in minimal or quasi-minimal pairs, or else stand alone. The utterances which I have selected (228 and 230) are a quasi-minimal pair. Below are the results obtained for them.

TABLE 42. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY

Variants	Total No. of Responses	Categories				
		1	2	3	4	N
228	42	5	2	88	0	5
230	42	50	43	5	0	2

As we can see, while (228) is regarded as bearing the least resemblance to acrolectal uses, half of the total number of responses point to (230) as the most acrolectal. If we sum the two figures under 1 and 2, this gives a total of 93 per cent of responses favourable to (230) as either the most or the second most formal variant. Considering that the figures in cells 1 and 2 for (228) only total 17 per cent and that cells 3 for (230) is smaller still, we can safely interpret the results in Table 42 as indicating, in approximate figures, a change from zero to 90. There is no doubt, then, that o is felt to be a feature of the acrolect. As for ele, though a large majority of responses defined it as non-acrolectal, the figure under 2 (= 42 per cent) should not be neglected: it seems to indicate that o-3, though typically acrolectal by comparison with ele, still appears as a not-so-formal variant, in the neighbourhood of the ele-area. Cell 2 seems

to bridge the gap between o-3 and ele, and cell 1 is an indication that o-3 is not a hyper-acrolectal variant, like o-2 (see p. 186).

2.7.1.7 (+ Prep) Object \sim (- Prep) Object.

With D.O. ele we return to the level of linguistic performance which is originally basilectal, i.e. that in which we detect the occurrence in object position of a variant which, in the acrolect, is singularly unstressed.

At this stage it is perhaps useful to draw attention to the variable sociolinguistic function of these variant pronoun forms in the environment of (+ prepositional case marker). In other words, we shall now take a quick look at the value of case as a determining factor in the social acceptability of the fully-stressed object pronoun variant. As we are now dealing with the ele \sim o alternation, let us take a couple of ele-utterances to illustrate the point.

(187) Ninguém viu ele na festa

'Nobody saw he at the party'.

(308) Eu disse a ele que eu não vendo fiado

'I told to he that I don't sell on tick'.

TABLE 43. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY

Utterance	Total No. of Responses	Categories			
		1	2	3	4
187	44	0	62	2	36
308	43	0	B	1	
		12	23	65	

1 = un-Portuguese
 2 = uneducated speech
 3 = incongruent
 4 = educated speech

0 = worse
 B = blank (= o.k.)
 1 = better

The above utterances appear in Sections IX and XV, respectively, of the test. As both sections have already been described (Cf. pp. 228 and 232), I shall limit myself, at this point, to an analysis of the results displayed in Table 43.

The figures in Table 43 show that the percentage of informants who regard a D.O. ele-utterance as typical of uneducated speech (mark 2) is virtually twice as large as that recorded under 4 (= educated speech). In other words, D.O. ele, which is the only questionable constituent of the sentence, is more promptly associated with the basilect than it is with non-basilectal uses. On the other hand, utterance 308 yields a response as high as 88 per cent in favour of 1 or B. Considering that in Section XV, from which 308 was taken, the informant is allowed to mark the two utterances either as equally rejected or as equally satisfactory, results indicate that D.O. ele is no longer socially rejected. We then conclude that a (+ prep) environment (in this case the I.O. category) favours the occurrence of the stressed pronoun variant.

Yet, if we carry the analysis of this problem a little further, we shall note that the sociolinguistic variable just observed also operates within the case category. On this occasion the determining factor is not, therefore, the case marking but a case which is indifferent to a prepositional connective. I shall exemplify from Section XV, this time with the variant nós in the following utterances:

(303) Pedro deu nós um pouco de feijão.

(304) Pedro deu a nós um pouco de feijão.

('Pedro gave us some black beans')

TABLE 44. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE

Variants	Total No. of Responses	Categories		
		B	1	0
303	42	3	2	95
304	43	23	65	12

0 = worse

1 = better

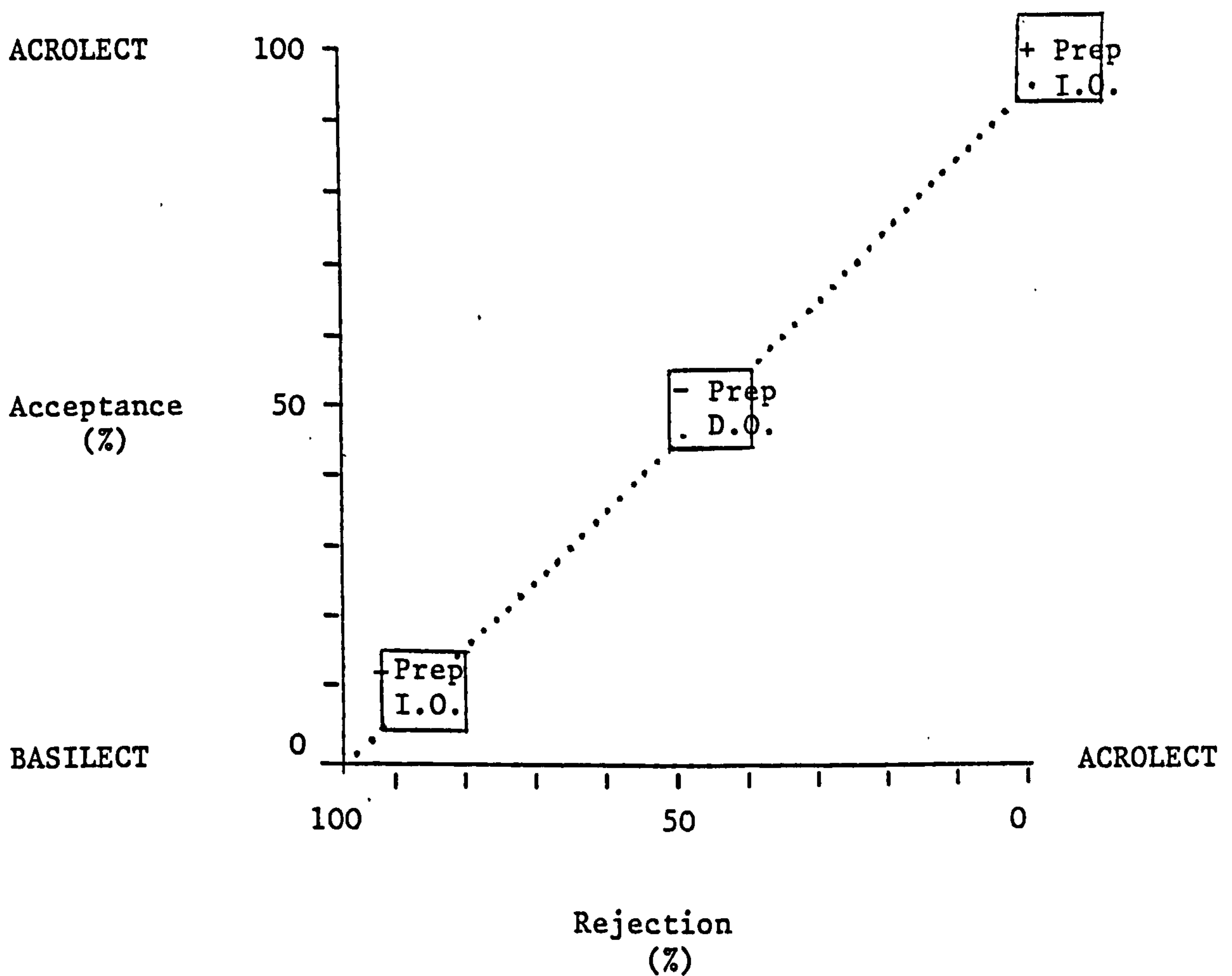
B = blank (= O.K.)

The above shows that within the same case category, I.O., nōs in the environment of a preposition is the favoured variant, since 88 per cent of the responses point to it as the non-rejected form, as against 95 per cent for the rejection of (- Prep) nōs.

If we combine these results with the recorded data, we shall add considerably to this evidence, since the (- Prep) variants that appear in the corpus have been shown to be associated with the basilect. Sample RFW IV 10:1 on page 172 (footnote 19) reveals that preposition-deleted I.O. (see 303 above) lies at the lower end of the pronoun continuum and is therefore associated with the lower basilect. This evidence points towards a continuum that could be graphically represented in the following way:⁴

4. I have omitted (+ Prep) D.O., since it is a feature of literary style.

FIGURE 10. ACCEPTANCE/REJECTION OF (+ PREP) FULLY-STRESSED FORMS
(HERE REPRESENTED BY 3RD PERSON SINGULAR ELE)



2.7.1.8 Seu ~ dele

We have already observed (Cf. p. 212) that seu-3 is not readily understood as such in ESP. It is rather its ele-alternant (= dele) that is immediately read as 3rd person possessive. This evidence, in conjunction with the facts of usage assembled in the corpus of spontaneous data, has led us to assume that seu is the acrolectal variant which alternates with non-acrolectal dele. This assumption has now been put to the test with the following results:

(216) Os rapazes jamais revelaram seus segredos a pessoa alguma.

(217) Os rapazes jamais revelaram os segredos deles a pessoa alguma.

('The youngsters never revealed their secrets to anybody').

TABLE 45. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY.

Variants	Total No. of Responses	Categories				
		1	2	3	4	N
216	41	63	27	5	5	0
217	40	0	18	32	45	5

Utterances 216 and 217 are part of a set of four utterances in Section X. Most formal (=mark 1) is here expressed by the description 'most like formal written language'. As we can see, the two utterances chosen are not only referentially identical but also lexically and syntactically so, except for the variants under study. This makes them a suitable pair, as the results obtained can only be traced to the seu ~ dele alternation. Furthermore, almost all the lexical items in 216/7 are typically acrolectal, as one can see from the social context in which they occur. Therefore, we are entitled to expect the clash between dele and the rest of the utterance to be acknowledged by a significant number of informants. Now, if we combine the first two and the last two cells, we shall find the following results: 90 per cent for 1/2 and 77 per cent for 3/4.

It is clear then, from Table 45, that seu is the variant appropriate to formal writing, whereas dele is suitable for the more informal varieties.

2.7.1.9 Seu ~ de você(s).

It may seem strange that I am now focussing on the number category, since at the start I warned that number and gender paradigms would be represented in the analysis by their unmarked members, i.e. singular and masculine forms. Yet in the case in point singular and plural have been found to display a dissimilar syntactic behaviour, and it is for this reason that vocês has been incorporated.

2.7.1.9. 1 Seu ~ de vocês.

The figures obtained for the seu ~ de vocês (Section II) alternation look rather puzzling. The utterances selected are:

(47) Gente, o Carlos não tem condução, ele tem que ir no jipe de vocês.

(48) Gente,⁵o Carlos não tem condução, ele tem que ir no seu jipe.

('Folks, Carlos hasn't got transport, he'll have to go in your jeep').

(53) Colegas, seus ideais serão atingidos na medida dos seus esforços.

(54) Colegas, os ideas de vocês serao atingidos na medida dos seus esforços.

('Fellow students, your ideals will be achieved in accordance with your efforts').

TABLE 46. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF SATISFACTION

Utterances	Total No. of Responses	Seu-2			De vocês		
		+	-	N	+	-	N
47	47				87	13	0
48	47	40	45	15			
53	48	94	6				
54	48				61	31	8

+ = more satisfactory
- = less satisfactory

N = non-acceptable.

5. Gender and number marking on the possessive pronoun, which results from DET + N agreement, is not considered here.

However, we should not be too impressed by the apparently disconcerting results. It will be helpful to remind ourselves that the problem proposed in Section II is not concerned with relative formality, but rather with acceptability put in terms of satisfaction. Here are some of the contradictions observed.

- (i) It is only for 48 and 54 that we obtain responses under N, i.e. non-acceptable. Strangely enough, 48 is a seu-2, while 54 is a de vocês-utterance.
- (ii) Utterances 47 and 53 are both acceptable, though each at different degrees. Yet we should note that, although one is a seu-2 and the other is a de vocêsutterance, they have triggered very similar responses: in the 47/48 pair the de vocêsutterance is regarded as more satisfactory by 87 per cent of the informants, whereas in 53/54 it is the seu-utterance that is taken to be the more satisfactory. The figure for 53 (=94 per cent) is, to be sure, higher than that recorded for 47 (= 87 per cent), but they are both diagnostic of a concentration of favourable responses for either utterance.
- (iii) In utterances 48 and 54, seu-2 and de vocês are regarded as satisfactory by a reasonably high percentage of informants: 40 per cent in 48 and 61 per cent in 54. Yet 45 per cent and 31 per cent, respectively, consider them to be less satisfactory. This suggests that attitudes towards seu-2 and de vocês in 48/54 are not so clear-cut as for 47/53. In other words, agreement as to whether it is the seu-2

or the de vocês utterance that is more satisfactory is not so noticeable.

Obviously, we shall have to look further for clarification. My suggestion is that we look into the composition of each utterance to investigate whether linguistic and social context has anything to do with the apparent contradictions we have just disclosed.

Let us then compare the two pairs of utterances to see what we can infer from their different composition. In both cases each utterance starts off with a vocative. Now, the vocative in the first pair is (1) a morphologically singular collective noun, and (2) a form of address which is typically non-acrolectal. The second vocative is a plural morpheme echoing addresses typical of graduation speeches. Furthermore, the two types of utterances differ as to choice of lexical items and speech context. In the first pair, the vocabulary and syntactic structure used are in agreement with the informal vocative with which the utterance starts. And the semantic content of the utterance indicates a very informal speech context. On the other hand, the utterances in the second pair are both lexically and structurally typical of a more formal variety of language. Therefore, it is to be expected that de vocês would be the more satisfactory choice for the first pair and seu for the second. In fact, this corroborates the quantitative results displayed in Table 46, that is, 87 per cent of the responses point towards 47 as the more satisfactory of the pair, and 94 per cent favour 53 over 54.

But we still have to account for the two other difficulties raised on page 250. One is the presence of N-responses for 48 and 54. This

fact brings additional support to the point just made, and we are now in a position to clarify the matter: in both cases the question can be answered in terms of a stylistic clash, i.e. in 48 and 54, seu and de vocês, respectively, are in stylistic conflict with the utterances in which they are inserted. The other problem has to do with the divided opinion expressed on 48 and 54. At this point I would like to offer a hypothesis: in the case of 54, it is quite comprehensible that the co-occurrence of colegas with de vocês would have overridden the stylistic clash observed in the rest of the utterance, since the word colegas itself sets a tone of informality, and address among colleagues (or classmates) is normally informal. As for 47, I would suggest that the '+' responses may have resulted from a reading of seu as seu-2 singular.

2.7.1.9.2 Seu ~ de você

Utterance 45 in Section II illustrates the mesolectal use of seu-2 singular. Both syntactically and lexically, as well as contextually, it is a normal mesolectal utterance. 45 is repeated in 46 but then possession is expressed by the variant de você. Here are the results obtained:

- (45) Mano, o Carlos não tem condução. Ele tem que ir no seu jipe.
 (46) Mano, o Carlos não tem condução. Ele tem que ir no jipe de você.

TABLE 47. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF SATISFACTION.

Variants	Categories		
	+	-	N
45	98	2	0
46	12	67	21

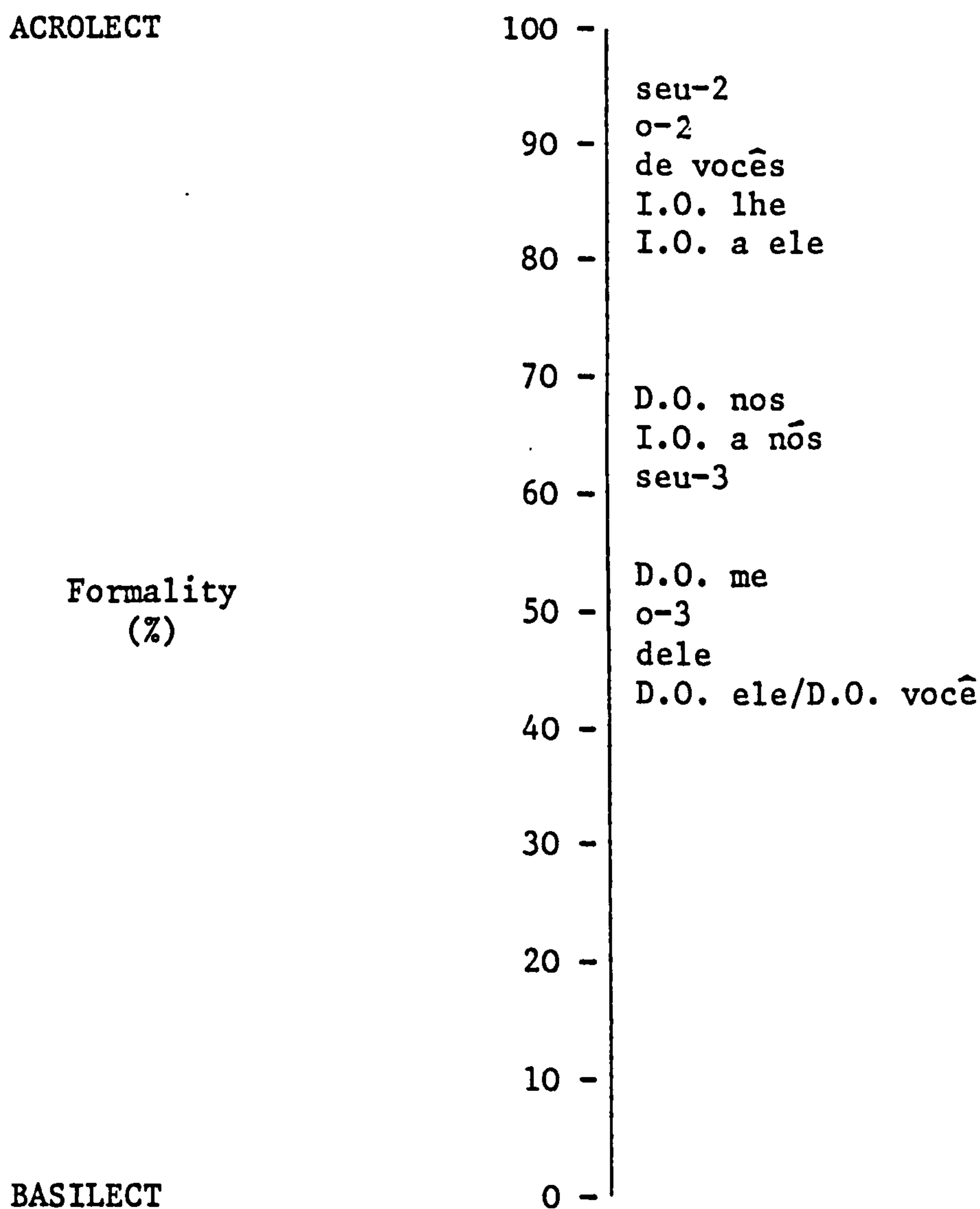
+ = more satisfactory
 - = less satisfactory

N = non acceptable

In view of the above results, we conclude that de você is not acceptable as a possessive. Therefore, there is no variation at this point. Seu-2 is then the invariant 2nd person singular possessive form.⁶

On the basis of the results reported up to this point, we are now in a position to set up an overall scale of formality to account for both personal and possessive pronoun variation. Below is a graphical representation of this hierarchy:

FIGURE 11. FORMALITY SCALE FOR PRONOUN VARIATION.



6. However, we must be aware of the fact that we are excluding from the analysis the possessive forms that are in agreement with respect forms of address, such as do senhor and its gender and number counterparts.

This figure should be viewed in conjunction with Figure 8 on page 232, in which formality degrees are arranged within the basilect, from less to more formal, i.e. from the lower to the upper basilect, and into the mesolect. This combined picture is an extra piece of evidence for the point made earlier (Cf. p. 87) that the rule by which creolized fully-stressed pronoun variants are replaced by weakly-stressed ones meets with the heaviest constraint in the 3rd person I.O. category, while the most favourable environment remains the 1st person singular category.

2.7.2 Negative Constructions.

Let us now look at the ways in which the negation variants arrange themselves along a formality scale. We already know, from the analysis of the recorded data, that ALG-negation is more formal than NEG-negation, and that, while NÃO-deletion is formal when it interacts with NEG preposing, it is very informal when it is without cost. Let us see how these facts are reflected in the figures yielded by the questionnaire. We shall first look through the non-basilectal variants.

2.7.2.1 ALG \sim NEG

The samples below were taken from Section III. Informants were asked to score each member of a set of pairs of utterances according to whether it is typical of public addresses or of everyday language. The responses displayed in Table 48 apply to the following utterances:

1. (69) Ele não disse nada.
- (70) Ele não disse coisa alguma.

2. (73) Ele jamais protestou.
(74) Ele nunca protestou.
3. (71) Ele jamais protestou.
(72) Ele em tempo algum protestou.
4. (75) Ele nunca protestou.
(76) Ele em tempo algum protestou.
5. (85) Ninguém compareceu.
(86) Pessoa alguma compareceu.
6. (87) Ele não foi a lugar algum.
(88) Ele não foi a lugar nenhum.
7. (101) Ele não tem nenhum interesse no negócio.
(102) Ele não tem qualquer interesse no negócio.
8. (105) Ele não viu ninguém.
(106) Ele não viu pessoa alguma.

TABLE 4.8. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY.

Pairs of Variants	Item no.	Total No. of Responses	Categories	
			1	2
1	69	48	17	83
	70	48	79	21
2	73	48	75	25
	74	47	21	79
3	71	48	40	60
	72	48	69	31
4	75	48	21	79
	76	48	77	23
5	85	48	27	73
	86	48	75	25
6	87	48	81	19
	88	48	23	77
7	101	48	23	77
	102	48	77	23
8	105	48	29	71
	106	48	71	29

1 = typical of public addresses
2 = ordinary language.

A summary of these results will give us the following picture:

TABLE 49. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY: A COMPARISON BETWEEN NEG AND ALG.

Negators	Categories	
NEG	1	2
Nada		83
Nunca		79
Ninguém (Subj)		73
Lugar nenhum		77
Nenhum interesse		77
Ninguém (Obj)		71
ALG		
Coisa alguma	79	
Em tempo algum	77	
Pessoa alguma (Subj)	75	
Lugar algum	81	
Qualquer interesse	77	
Pessoa alguma (Obj)	71	

As we can see, figures are invariably over or at least equal to 70. These results point steadily to ALG as acrolectal and NEG (or NONALG) as typical of ordinary language, i.e. mesolectal.

The jamaís \sim nunca alternation has been left out of Table 49 so as not to disturb the one-to-one pattern of the system displayed. However, we should note that the same type of relationship holds for jamaís \sim nunca as that indicated for the ALG \sim NEG variants.

The straightforward position of NEG's as second to ALG's on a formality scale is not matched by the relationship they bear to each other on an acceptability scale. In other words, findings point towards a virtually unanimous acceptance of the NEG variants as satisfactory forms. In point of fact, at times it is the NEG variant that is preferred, if only by a small margin. Table 50, below, shows the figures obtained for the following utterances:

(41) Ele não fez coisa alguma.

(42) Ele não fez nada.

(237) Ninguém veio.

(238) Pessoa alguma veio.

TABLE 50. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF SATISFACTION.

Pairs of Variants	Item No.	Total No. of Responses	Categories	
			+	-
1	41	48	98	2
	42	48	100	0
2	237	44	93	7
	238	43	67	33

+ = more satisfactory

- = less satisfactory

Therefore, formality cannot always be associated with satisfaction. This confirms the point made earlier (Cf. p.104) that in BP the mesolect tends to become the accepted standard norm.

In Section IV this issue reappears in a slightly different form: there informants are asked to score sets of three or more utterances

according to their proximity to careful speech at one end and casual speech at the other. Mark 1 stands for 'most careful'. To help illustrate the point, I have chosen sets (a) and (h):

- a. (109) Ele não veio de forma nenhuma.
 (110) Ele não veio não.
 (111) Ele não veio de forma alguma.
- h. (132) Ele não veio aqui nunca.
 (133) Ele jamais veio aqui.
 (134) Ele nunca veio aqui.
 (135) Ele não veio aqui jamais.

As we see, in set (a) there is only one ALG-utterance, which is (111). In (h) there are two, (133) and (135); yet it is (133) that is assumed to be the most formal, since it is an ALG-only utterance. Table 51, below, shows that it is precisely utterances (111) and (133) that are marked as most typical of careful speech.

TABLE 51. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY.

Utterances	Total No. of Responses	Categories			
		1	2	3	4
109	47	19	68	13	0
110	45	7	11	82	0
111	45	78	20	2	0
132	44	4	14	39	43
133	45	64	27	9	0
134	47	32	30	21	17
135	44	11	30	27	32

1 = most typical of careful speech.
 2, 3, 4 = gradually less typical.

2.7.2.2 Reversible Singly-negated Utterances.

Judging by the criteria that defined the correlation between preposed NEG and formality, one would expect the singly-negated Ninguém veio (= 35) to be distinctly more acrolectal than its variant Não veio ninguém (= 36)⁷. Yet the results obtained show that in this case the lectal distance separating them is irrelevant.

TABLE 52. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF SATISFACTION.

Variants	Categories	
	+	-
35	100	0
36	94	6

+ = more satisfactory

- = less satisfactory

This is confirmed by the figures in Section VIII, where informants are asked to rewrite utterances which were felt to be not quite right with respect to the requirements of formal language. Results show that 60 per cent of the informants left Não apareceu ninguém (d utterance in VIII) unaltered, while 35 per cent rewrote it as Ninguém apareceu. Considering that, as proposed, the problem carried a strong suggestion for rephrasing, one is left wondering at the comparatively high percentage of responses in favour of retaining d.

These results do not correspond with those obtained for nunca, though. Utterances 257 through 260 give evidence of it: in that set preverbal nunca (utterance 260: Ele nunca olhou para mim) is favoured by 95 per cent of 42 informants, while postverbal nunca (257/258: Ele não olhou

7. I am referring here to parallel variants such as the Não fiz nada ~ Nada fiz/Não veio ninguém ~ Ninguém veio sets.

para mim nunca) invariably takes the second or third places.

I think that we should not let these results go unnoticed, as they seem to link up with another feature of the BP language system, i.e. the relation of NÃO with the syntactic structure in which it is inserted. We should note that nada, ninguêm and nunca play distinct syntactic roles in the utterances under study: nada is a D.O., ninguêm is a Subj., and nunca is an Adv. We shall see presently that the greater or lesser acceptability of NÃO-deletion-without-cost bears directly on syntactic structure. We can then conclude that there is a correlation between NÃO-deletion, syntactic structure and social acceptance, that operates somewhat like this: the environment that is least favourable to NÃO-deletion-without-cost correlates with educated usage when NEG is preverbal. Less favourable environments tend to be socially marked as to position in relation to the verb. Now, the reader will have noticed that this is a sensitive point, since when NEG is D.O., we speak of NÃO-deletion-without-cost, in the case of Ele fez nada, and of NÃO-deletion-with-cost when we are dealing with Ele nada fez. We have not, however, treated Ele nunca veio and Ninguêm veio as syntactically related to Ele nada fez.

It might be said that the different treatment given to Ele nada fez resulted from the understanding that the locus of D.O. is postverbal and, therefore, its positioning before the verb results in displacement. This seems to be what is happening, especially if we compare nada with nunca. It is hard to say that nunca has a locus in the BP sentence structure, since, favoured as it may be in preverbal position, its privileges of occurrence are not to be compared with those of nada:

we have seen that nunca can occur at almost every point in the structure of the sentence (Cf. p. 67). Yet what are we to say in relation to Ninguém veio? Certainly we are not prepared to describe the Subj as a mobile sentence constituent. In spite of it, its position away from its preverbal locus does not entail a lectal shift. Obviously, we cannot pursue this question any further, as it lies outside the scope of this work. However, I would like to suggest that it looks as though it should be viewed in its relation to word order and rule ordering. It would also be illuminating to look further into the nature of the reversible utterances.

2.7.2.3 Utterances with NãO-deletion-without-cost.

We shall extract information on the status of these utterances from a comparison between them and the doubly-negated utterances, both with and without NãO-deletion (Cf. Section XIV items 279/280, 281/282, 293/294, 297/298, 287/288.)

TABLE 53. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO ACCEPTABILITY OF DELETED NãO_{pv}

Total No. of Responses	Postverbal	+ NãO _{pv}			- NãO _{pv}			- NãO _{pv} Combined (-) + (N)
		+	-	N	+	-	N	
41/39	NãO ₂	80	10	10	26	51	23	74
41/40	NADA _f	51	39	10	60	25	15	40
42/43	NUNCA	95	0	5	5	23	72	95
40/43	NINGUÉM	98	0	2	5	42	53	95
42	NADA	95	2	3	10	50	40	90

+ = better

- = not so good

N = Non-acceptable

Table 53 includes single and double NÃO utterances, which is another manifestation of NÃO-deletion-without-cost.

If we look closely at the results, we shall notice that, while in all cases but one (Cf. NADA_f) there is a marked preference for (+ NÃO_{pv}) utterances, the NÃO-deleted constructions are strongly rejected only when the postverbal negator is not a sentence-final or a NÃO₂. Results in the first and second rows show that this resistance to deletion is weakened in the environment of originally copied negators. This seems to come in support of the idea that NÃO_{pv} deletes most favourably in the environment of sentence-finals, and that the other postverbals behave in much the same way.

I said earlier (Cf. p. 162) that NÃO-deletion had not yet reached the speakers' consciousness level. The evidence then presented to support this position was the lack of correspondence between samples collected from spontaneous speech and the results of the questionnaire. We have now come to the point where this issue can be taken up at greater length. Table 54 shows that the (-NÃO_{pv}) sentence-finals leave no doubt as to their grammaticality, as we can see from the empty N cells. They are either more satisfactory than the (+ NÃO_{pv}) variant (Cf. NADA_f = 60% +) or slightly less so (see NÃO_f). Yet there is a high percentage of informants who mark nunca, ninguẽm and nada as not satisfactory. The third column displays the 'not satisfactory' total results, i.e. ((-) + (N)). This confirms our earlier assumption that speakers are not aware of this phenomenon.⁸ Let then the attested samples provide the necessary evidence for the establishment of these additional variants,

8. Further experimentation indicates that these utterances will not be fully tested until reference is made to prosodic features such as intonation.

which . seem to be deeply ingrained in the native speaker's competence. As there is no trace of postverbals ninguém and nada in deleted utterances, we shall omit them altogether.

2.7.2.4 Double NÃO vs Single NÃO.

Sentence-final NÃO has not been conceived of as an emphasis-carrier only, as traditional grammarians would have it, (Cf. p. 60), but as a trace of non-acrolectal speech. The latter is confirmed by the results displayed below, in which utterances (231) Ninguém veio não and (232) Ninguém veio are taken up.

TABLE 54. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF SATISFACTION.

Variants	Total No. of Responses	Categories	
		+	-
231	43	9	91
232	44	100	0

+ = more satisfactory

- = less satisfactory

2.7.2.5 Marked vs Unmarked Negation

Marked (or preposed NEG) negative utterances are contrasted with their unmarked counterparts in Section III of the test. In Table 54, below, I show the results for a couple of pairs.

1. (79) Ele não fez nada para vencer.

(80) Ele nada fez para vencer.

('He did not do anything to succeed').

2. (97) Ele não foi a lugar algum.
 (98) Ele a lugar algum foi.
 ('He did not go anywhere').

TABLE 55. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY.

Pairs of Variants	Item No.	Total No. of Responses	Categories		
			1	2	N
1	79	48	12	88	0
	80	48	90	10	0
2	97	48	44	56	0
	98	47	60	36	4

1 = typical of formal speeches
 2 = ordinary language

2.7.2.6 Preposed NEG ~ NÃO/ALG.

The following table shows results for variants (129) Ele não disse coisa alguma que convencesse and (130) Ele nada disse que convencesse

'He did not say anything convincing', which bring to the front the question of the sociolinguistic status of marked negation. in relation to ALG in the environment of NÃO_{pv}. Utterances 129 and 130 are members of a set of four referentially identical variants which are to be scored according to their proximity to careful language. Here are the results:

TABLE 56. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO DEGREES OF FORMALITY.

Variants	Total No. of Responses	Categories			
		1	2	3	4
129	46	24	24	43	9
130	45	40	31	27	2

1 = most like careful language
 2, 3, 4 = gradually less careful

Contrary to what had been suggested at the beginning, results in Table 56 indicate that NEG-preposing correlates more highly with formal speech than ALG does. This gives further support to the analysis that establishes NÃO as the specific feature of morphological negation that recedes more promptly as the acrolect takes over.

2.7.2.7 Basilectal Variants

We have seen (Cf. p. 66) that negative redundancy, as defined in this work, is the crucial feature of BP basilectal negation. In Table 2 I have set up a comprehensive hypothesis as to the environments in which NÃO was likely to occur and on p. 69 I suggest a correlation between redundant constructions and social context. On page 117 I show that only one out of the three proposed redundant constructions was actually attested, i.e. Ninguém não, but other cases of redundancy that had not been predicted in the original hypothesis did appear. It is unfortunate that, due to time pressures, such cases could not be included in the test. As a matter of fact, it was only when the test was already being administered that my attention was drawn to them. Under such circumstances, the only information that can be extracted from the results of the test is that concerning combinations of NÃO_r with nem, nunca and ninguẽm. Three of the utterances tested were: (256) Ele nem não olhou para mim, 'He not even not looked at me', ('He did not even look at me'), (259) Ele nunca não olhou para mim, 'He never not looked at me', and (261) Ninguẽm não fez o teste, 'Nobody not did the test'.

TABLE 5.7. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO ACCEPTABILITY OF REDUNDANT NEGATIVE UTTERANCES

Redundant Utterances	Total No. of Responses	Categories				
		1	2	3	4	N
256	43	5	32	0	0	63
259	42	5	5	14	33	43
261	42	2	69	0	0	29

1 = most acceptable

2, 3, 4 = gradually less acceptable

N = non-acceptable

Table 57 shows that the hierarchy proposed on p. 69 is a legitimate one (compare figures under N), and that ninguém não is the only combination that has produced a significant number of responses in favour of its acceptability. This has led me to discard 256 and 259 until further experimentation proves them to exist.⁹

9. As for redundant Nem + NÃO, two examples were attested when this work had already been completed. They are:

1. É capaz de nem num vim for causa da passagem.
'(It) is likely of not-even not come by cause of the ticket'.
('It's likely that they won't even make it because of the ticket').
2. Acho que nem num tem.
'(I) think that not even not (it) has'.
('I don't think there even is one').

Both samples were detected in very informal conversations. The speakers from whom they were drawn can be classified as educated middle class in the 18-26 age group. One of them is an ESP speaker, the other comes from a small town, in the neighbouring state of Minas Gerais, whose geographical location places it very near the ES Northeastern border (Cf. p 314) for predictions about occurrences of redundant constructions in the central areas of North ES.)

2.7.3 Address Agreement.

By address agreement I mean the grammatical requirement for pronoun forms referring to the interlocutor to be selected from the same person paradigm.

It may seem out of place to tackle address agreement in a section devoted to the study of relative formality. However, to leave it out of our concerns here would prevent us from having access to an issue that has persistently challenged the survival of the school standard.

The problem arises from the adoption of você as a direct 2nd person pronoun in place of the direct 2nd person tu. With the disappearance of tu from ESP, você assumed full 2nd person functions. Yet weakly-stressed te was retained and the combination você/te eventually established itself.

The você/te paradigm has been vastly attested in the corpus of spontaneous speech samples, as well as in written texts such as personal letters. Yet the school's ban on it is still upheld. I have included it in the test, together with its variant você/o, in order to seek out what opinion the informant has formed about some of the combinations offered. The utterances presented were:

(221) Maria, por onde você anda que ninguém a vê?

(222) Maria, por onde você anda que ninguém te vê?

('Maria, where have you been that nobody has been seeing you?')

(144) Eu queria falar-lhe mas não a vi.

(146) Eu queria falar com você mas não te vi.

('I wanted to speak to you, but I did not see you'(sing.))

(108) Eu queria falar com vocês, mas não vi vocês.

('I wanted to speak to you, but I did not see you' (pl.)).

These five utterances come from three different sections, III, IV and X. The reason why they are brought together in Table 58 is that, though differently put, the questions asked in those three sections come to the same: degrees of formality. Therefore, scores 1 to 4 should be read as 'most formal' (=1), and gradually less formal (= 2, 3, 4). Here is the table.

TABLE 58. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO PRONOUN FORMALITY

Sets of Variants	Item No.	Total No. of Responses	Categories				
			1	2	3	4	N
1	221	41	46	39	10	3	2
	222	41	12	20	27	36	5
2	144	46	63	24	11	2	0
	146	46	13	7	26	54	0
	108	48	8	92	0	0	0

The results displayed in Table 58 show:

- (i) The informants' acknowledgement that acrolectal usage requires address agreement (Cf. figures under 1 and 2 for 221. Note also that the bulk of responses is divided between 1 and 2, instead of concentrating under 1. This shows hesitation over você, which nevertheless did not discourage informants from placing the utterance inside the acrolectal area. 221 contrasts with 222, which recorded a 63 per cent response (27 + 36) within the non-acrolect).

- (ii) That the higher percentage under 1 for 144 (= 63 per cent) supports our suggestion that the 46 per cent response for 221 reflects the presence of non-acrolectal você.

It is, therefore, a well established fact that você/o is recognizably the combination favoured in the acrolectal varieties. Now, we have seen that o-2 is not immediately recognized as having a 2nd person referent (Cf. Table 19, p. 211). Certainly this is an indication that there is another acceptable way of expressing this referent. Alternative forms are then você and te.

108 is a sample of the você/você combination. It comes from yet another section of the test, where it is contrasted with a vocês/os utterance. The result obtained (= 92 per cent for 2) shows that, though você/você does not break the agreement rule, it is marked as ordinary language.

Now, if we look at utterances (126) Eu não vi você na festa and (127) Eu não te vi na festa we shall see that te is favoured over você, in object position:

TABLE 59 . PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES TO PRONOUN FORMALITY

Variants	Total No. of Responses	Categories			
		1	2	3	4
126	45	7	44	49	0
127	46	11	46	43	0

Summing up, if we consider that tu is virtually out of ESP, o is hardly recognized as o-2 and te is favoured over você, we shall be drawn to the conclusion that você/te is the accepted combination. This is confirmed by the vast amount of attested samples and also by a personal comment volunteered by one of the informants and written into his completed questionnaire, as a summary description of 146: "an extremely familiar salad".

2.7.4 Preverbal Sequences

In the course of this investigation, my attention was often drawn to a problem that does not bear directly on the issues fundamental to this work, but that nevertheless may add to our knowledge of the relations between negation and style in BP. For this reason I included in Section VIII of the test an item (utterance a) in which two negators are placed side by side in preverbal position. As we know (Cf. p. 227), in Section VIII informants are asked to take an active participation in the experiment by rewriting utterances that do not seem to them to be entirely satisfactory. The utterance I would like to single out at this point is Pessoa alguma nunca desvendou o grande mistério, 'Nobody has ever unveiled that great mystery'.

My original assumption was that morphological and syntactic negators do not occur randomly in an utterance, but that they lend themselves to patterned organization. On this assumption I carried out a number of minor experiments from which I concluded that if such rule-governed patterned arrangement does exist, it is to be found to the left of the verb. The assumed pattern can be summed up in the following rules:

1. When two or more negators occur to the left of the verb, if one of them is ALG, the following ones must be ALG¹⁰.
2. ALG negators are indifferent to the lexical nature of the negators preceding them.

Here are the results obtained for utterance a:

TABLE 60. PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES SHOWING STYLISTIC PREFERENCE

Utterance	Categories		
	RG	E	B
a	35	25	40

RG = rule-governed

E = evasions

B = blank (= utterance should be left unaltered)

Table 60 shows that 35 per cent of the utterances regarded as improved versions of a were governed by rules 1 and 2, just proposed. This means that pessoa alguma nunca was replaced by one of these combinations: pessoa algum em tempo algum, jamais pessoa alguma, nunca ninguém, pessoa algum jamais, ninguém nunca, nunca pessoa alguma, jamais alguém

10. Labov raises the question of skipping indeterminates in a sequence (Cf. Labov, 1977 : 148). His sequences are different from the ones I am discussing in that they are not necessarily preverbal nor are they restricted to strings of adjacent negators. Besides, in order to test his assumptions, he looks at non-standard dialects, whereas in my case there is no question of skipping indeterminates in varieties other than the acrolect. Yet it is interesting to notice that while in his data skipping is possible, i.e. non-standard speakers do mix NEG's and ALG's (to use my own terms) in the same sequence, in BP acrolectal skipping seems to be subject to restrictions.

and ninguém jamais. Evasions are represented by such devices as nunca-deletion, passive transformation, and other word order changes.

Although I am aware of the limitations of this experiment, I believe that, judging from the results displayed in Table 41, and from data appearing in the test case (Cf. p. 277), this is a line of investigation that might be worth pursuing.

PART V. FURTHER TESTING

CHAPTER 1: THE TEST CASE.

Elsewhere I said that my efforts to avail myself of a complete linguistic repertoire for each informant proved unsuccessful, and I was then left with one case, which I am using as a test on the lectal comprehensiveness of the individual's repertoire.

1.1 INFORMANT'S PERSONAL DATA

The speaker who turned out to be the most versatile language user is a 31-year-old school teacher (hereafter referred to as J.B.) born in E.S., whose father is a grocer. She was brought up in a small town in the north of the State and moved to Vitória (the State's largest city and capital) at the age of 17 to attend the University. She is now the holder of a University degree and works as a part-time school teacher and civil servant. Her social and educational background led me to classify her as middle middle-class, according to a tentative scale I set up mainly on the basis of occupation (father's and/or own) and education.

1.2 INFORMANT'S LINGUISTIC DATA

The data which I have approached as J.B.'s linguistic repertoire consist of the following material:

- (i) Actual performance as it appears in tape recordings conducted under the following conditions:
 - (a) surreptitiously: the data gathered in this way are drawn from conversations captured at home, at the office and among friends;

(b) under subject's awareness: this has supplied data from class performances, which range from teacher/pupil dialogues to lecture-type classes.

(ii) Normative behaviour, as expressed in responses to the subjective attitude test.¹

(iii) Written language, as recorded in a text composed by the subject while a student (Cf. WL VI - 1).

1.3 VARIATION IN THE DATA: NEGATION

1.3.1 Actual Performance

In J.B.'s actual performance data there is not a single instance of redundant negation. Nunca and nem are used non-redundantly, and ninguém and nenhuma occur postverbally in reversible singly-negated utterances. In her repertoire negation is at its most informal in speech samples that can be represented as:

1. NEG + V + NÃO_f
2. NÃO_{pv} + V + NÃO₂

As I could not trace any occurrences of preverbal NEM + NP, I cannot make any claims as to her handling of it.

Negative concord is represented in the data by the following sequences:

-
1. I have entered J.B.'s responses into the copy of the questionnaire appended to this work.

não/nunca, não/ninguém, não/nenhuma, não/de jeito nenhum. Não/nunca is in alternation with não/jamais, and não/de jeito nenhum with não/de forma alguma.

Summing up, J.B.'s negation continuum ranges from $N\tilde{A}O_f$ and $N\tilde{A}O_2$ to ALG, as concerns speech forms.

1.3.2 Written Language Data.

$N\tilde{A}O_2$ and $N\tilde{A}O_f$ are entirely absent from J.B.'s written text. Concord is present, but it is not of the reversible type. Preverbal NEG's are non-redundant but, as for speech, there is no occurrence of preverbal NEM + NP, so that again remains unchecked. Nada and nunca are favoured over jamais and coisa alguma, but since there is no occurrence of ADV-ALG, the alternation $ALG \sim NEG$, attested in her speech, could not be checked in her writing.

1.3.3 Normative Behaviour.

1.3.3.1 Redundancy:

J.B.'s attitude towards redundant negation cannot be described as categorical rejection. However, when confronted with a binary choice between redundant and non-redundant ninguém, she will invariably mark the redundant form as uneducated or less satisfactory. Nunca não is likewise marked as uneducated and unsatisfactory, whereas nem não is rejected. This judgement comes very close to the hierarchy of redundancy which we have set up on page 69.

1.3.3.2 Reversible Utterances:

J.B. regards variation of the type Ninguém veio ~ Não veio ninguém and Ele nunca veio ~ Ele não veio nunca as socially significant, as one can see from her responses to utterances 132/134 and 139/140. Yet when the question is put in terms of satisfaction, she marks Ninguém veio and Não veio ninguém as equal (Cf. utterances 35/36).

1.3.3.3 NÃO₂:

The combination of NÃO₂ with ALG-forms is not seen by J.B. as a satisfactory one, unless ALG is a postverbal in the environment of NÃO_{pv}. Utterances with one or more negative morphemes are regarded as equally satisfactory, whether or not they have a NÃO₂ attached to them. This is a sign that, as far as her judgement is concerned, NÃO₂ is not a stigmatized feature, though it is definitely a very informal one. (-NÃO_{pv}) utterances are rejected, except when the postverbal environment is NÃO₂, in which case she refrains from expressing her opinion.

1.3.3.4 ALG ~ NEG:

Although J.B. does not systematically distinguish between jamais and nunca, the ALG-forms proper are invariably marked by her as formal in relation to their NEG variants. (Cf. items 70, 76, 86, 92, 102, 106, 111, 117, 120, 131, 133, 137, 142, 225). The syntactic function of the negators is significant here, as one can see from the inversion of the formality scale for place negators (Cf. 103/4).

1.3.3.5 Preposed Complements:

Whether NEG or ALG, preposed complements are regarded by J.B. as more formal than their unmarked counterparts, as one can see from her responses to items 79/80, 81/82 and others. It should also be noted that the syntactic function of the negator is not significant, i.e. she places preposed D.O.s at the same level of formality as ADVs. (compare items 79/80 with 120).

1.3.3.6 Sequence of Negators:

On page 26 I say that the question of stylistic adequacy involving sequences of negators could not, for a number of reasons, be handled within the limits of the attitude test and that, instead of discarding them altogether, I set them out in an Appendix, which was presented to a restricted number of respondents. J.B. is one of them. Her responses indicate that she is well aware of restrictions on ALG/NEG combinations that are confined to literary styles. Her judgments also suggest that it is to the left of the verb that the question of stylistic congruence is located or originates. Both these attitudes show through in the following facts:

1. J.B. is indifferent to skipping (Cf. p. 271, footnote) in postverbal position. The utterance quoted below is marked by her as fully satisfactory:

(4) Ele não revelou nada a pessoa alguma nunca em lugar nenhum.
'He has not revealed anything to anybody ever anywhere'
2. She favours all-NEGs over all-ALGs:

(1) Ele não revelou coisa alguma a pessoa alguma jamais em lugar algum.

(2) Ele não revelou nada a ninguém nunca em lugar nenhum.

(2) was marked as more satisfactory than (1).

3. When asked to mark 'the worst' sample in each of seven sets of utterances, she invariably chooses the utterance in which ALG is followed by NEG, either in preverbal position or in an over-verb sequence (Cf. items 16 through 28, on page 343). Here are some examples:

(19) Ele nunca disse nada que impressionasse.

(20) Ele nunca disse coisa alguma que impressionasse.

(21) Ele jamais disse nada que impressionasse.

'He never said anything remarkable'

(21) was marked as 'worst'.

We should add to these facts the supporting evidence that comes from item a, in Section VIII (Cf. p. 334). Here she expresses her dissatisfaction over the ALG + NEG sequence by omitting NEG nunca in her rewriting of a, so that Pessoa alguma nunca desvendou o grande mistério becomes Pessoa alguma desvendou o grande mistério 'Person some unveiled the great mystery'.

1.4 VARIATION IN THE DATA: PRONOUNS

1.4.1 Actual Performance and Written Data.

In J.B.'s observed linguistic behaviour I have detected the following relevant pronoun forms:

TABLE 61.

P E R S O N A L		P O S S E S S I V E	
Person/Number/Case	Forms	Possessor	Forms
1st Sing. D.O.	eu	2nd	seu
1st Pl. D.O.	A gente		
2nd Sing. I.O.	você	3rd	dele
3rd Sing. D.O.	ele/o/ø		

This shows that in her speech variation between fully-stressed and weakly-stressed forms does occur, yet it is confined to the 3rd person. In other words, D.O. ele crops up in her unmonitored speech, although it has not yet become categorical as it still alternates with acrolectal o. However, object você is categorical, and this suggests that o-2 is in fact a feature of the upper acrolect, as we have inferred from the bulk of the data.

It will be instructive, though, to compare speech with written data. Unfortunately, the text which I have available has not supplied a comprehensive picture of the pronoun system operating in her writing. Therefore we shall have to make do with the following information:

1. Categorical presence:

Me, Nos, D.O. o-3, seu-3, I.O. ele (+ Prep).

2. Variable presence:

Strictly speaking, there is no pronoun variation in the written data. However, it is interesting to note that D.O. ele occurs once

in an environment which allows for variation:

Que vontade de apanhar todas elas (∼ apanhã-las todas) para mim!

'What wish of take all they (∼take them all) for me!'

('How I wish I could take them all for myself').

We are not entitled to make a strong case for this, though, because todas makes for a higher level of acceptance of the stressed forms (Cf. b. on page 77 and p. 34).

Lhe might have occurred in the text. Yet it was avoided and o took its place. The reason for this unexpected replacement (note that o is a D.O. form, while lhe is an I.O.) is not clear. I suggest that it is linked with the writer's inability to handle lhe, and this might perhaps be taken as a sign of the artificiality of the form.

1.4.2 Normative Behaviour

Let us now take a look at J.B.'s normative behaviour in pronoun usage:

1.4.2.1 Personal Pronouns:

Stressed forms: J.B. regards eu and nós as equally good samples of uneducated speech (Cf. items 309/310). Yet D.O. ele is marked as occurring more frequently than either \emptyset or o (Cf. Section V). In fact her answer to item 187 indicates that she believes that D.O. ele can occur in educated speech.

Unstressed forms: Utterances containing lhe-2 (Cf. items 143 through 146) and o-2 (Cf. items 125 through 127) are presented as members of

sets in which they are contrasted with their variant forms. J.B. systematically identifies them as the best samples of careful language. Lhe-3, presented in contrast with a ele, is also seen as formal (Cf. items 99 and 100).

1.4.2.2 Possessives:

J.B. favours dele over seu (Cf. items 51/52) and de vocês over seus (Cf. items 53/54). Yet she marks seu-2 as the satisfactory form, as compared with de você (Cf. items 45/46).

1.5 NEGATION AND PRONOUNS COMBINED.

J.B.'s judgements of utterances combining negative and pronoun forms indicate her preference for combinations of ALG-form with unstressed pronouns (seu-3 included) as the most emphatic manifestations of the formal varieties of BP (Cf. sets a, b, on pages 336 and 337).

1.6 CONCLUSION.

The negative and pronoun forms detected in J.B.'s linguistic repertoire point to a continuum that ranges from (a) double-NÃO to NÃO-ALG constructions, and (b) D.O. ele to D.O. o-3 and seu-3.

If, in order to compensate for holes in the corpus of spontaneous data, we allow for the incorporation of information drawn from her responses to the subjective attitude test, we shall notice that negative redundancy, D.O. o-2 and I.O. lhe-3 will also be spanned by her language continuum.

Assuming that J.B. is a fairly good representative of mesolectal usage and that her behaviour, both actual and normative, are typical, we are in a position to suggest that the lects controlled by her are likewise fairly representative of the mesolectal standard which is under way. If this is the case, her repertoire will be a reasonable guide to the definition of social unmarkedness for BP.

CHAPTER 2: ACROLECT VS MESOLECT IN NEW TESTAMENT TRANSLATIONS

Earlier I referred to the standard and modern translations of the New Testament (NT) as sources of evidence for the problems discussed in the course of this work (Cf. p. 21). We now turn to the NT text for our last search of data relevant to the aims of this research.

The two NT texts were examined with a view to setting aside passages which contained any of the pronoun and negation variants under study.

Once the two texts were compared, parallel passages which did not match as to morpho-syntactic structure were discarded. This means that utterances which, in the process of retranslation, underwent reinterpretation, extensive rephrasing or paraphrasing, were not taken into consideration unless they proved significant as expressions of judgements on issues related to this research. The purpose of this approach to the text was to secure the isolation of the grammatical forms under investigation and by so doing to highlight the patterns of variation that underlie the translators' choice of pronouns and negators. My ultimate goal was to discover what the pronoun and negation systems are like that express the translators' conception of 'ordinary language of the people', and specifically what allowances they have made in their attempts to replace acrolectal by non-acrolectal forms. Implied in this search is an attempt to measure the extent to which the school norms have determined the translators' decisions, as well as the degree of awareness they have shown of the widespread acceptance of current forms which do not correspond to accepted educated usage. We should bear in mind that this is a translation done by a team of language experts, not just by one or

two people. . Therefore it is worthwhile to examine where their consensus lies, as they pass judgements on what is acceptable and, by inference, what is not acceptable in the language of the ordinary people.

2.1 THE STANDARD TRANSLATION.

In this text there is a predominance of the ALG variant, as one can judge from the following samples:

- (1) De modo algum entrareis no Reino dos Céus. (WL II - 7:1)
'Of mode some (you) will enter in the Kingdom of the Heaven'.
('Ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven').
- (2) Para que não falem mais nesse nome a homem algum. (WL II - 13:3)
'For that (they) not speak more in this name to man some'.
('... that they speak henceforth to no man in this name').
- (3) A nós não nos é lícito matar pessoa alguma. (WL II - 15:1)
'To we not us (it) is lawful (to) kill person some'.
('It is not lawful for us to put any man to death').
- (4) Olha não o digas a alguém. (WL II - 17:1)
'Look not it (you) tell to somebody'.
('See thou tell no man').
- (5) Nunca homem algum falou assim como este homem. (WL II - 22:1)
'Never man some spoke thus like this man'.
('Never man spake like this man').
- (6) Não acho culpa alguma neste homem. (WL II - 11:5)
'(I) not find fault some in this man'.
('I find no fault in this man').

Morphological negators occur both in unmarked and marked positions, but the marked ones are far more numerous. Here are two of them:

- (7) De modo nenhum te acontecerá isso. (WL II - 8:1)

'Of mode none (to) you will happen this'.

('This shall not be unto thee').

- (8) Nada apanhamos. (WL II - 9:7)

'(We) nothing caught'.

(' (We) have taken nothing').

Pronoun variants are acrolectal except in cases of ambiguous or repeated forms, where I.O. and Poss realize the stressed variant. Avoidance of repetition reflects stylistic concerns derived from generally accepted ideas about the qualities of good prose. Other stressed variants do not occur.

- (9) Acabando Jesus de dar instruções aos seus doze discípulos, partiu dali a pregar e ensinar nas sinagogas deles.
(WL II - 2:1)

'Finishing Jesus of give instructions to the his twelve disciples, (he) parted from there to preach and teach in the synagogues of they'.

('When Jesus had made an end of commanding his twelve disciples, he departed thence to preach and to teach in their cities').

- (10) O que vem a mim de maneira nenhuma o lançarei fora.
(WL II - 3:2)

'That comes to me of manner none (I) him will throw away.

('... him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out').

- (11) Eu irei e lhe darei saúde. (WL II - 4:4)

'I will go and him will give health'.

('I will come and heal him').

2.2 THE POPULAR TRANSLATION.

As regards negation, there are no occurrences of ALG-forms. As for marking, it is restricted to negative adverbials. All occurrences of NEG-Comp1 are unmarked. It is, therefore, mesolectal.

The pronoun system shows the following characteristics: The occurrence of mesolectal stressed forms (I.O. and Poss) is extended to environments not affected by ambiguity or repetition. 0-2 does not occur. The second person referent is realized by você alone, since te is not admitted as an alternative. Address agreement is therefore kept intact. Você is the only D.O. stressed variant admitted into the text. D.O. ele is left out.

2.3 THE TWO TRANSLATIONS COMPARED.

Below is a summary report on the negation and pronoun systems found to be operating in the two texts. I shall begin by listing pairs of variants extracted from either translation and then we shall discuss the type of variation affecting each pair, to show finally how it relates to the systems described in this work. These samples have been selected in accordance with the criteria set out on page 283.

2.3.1 Pronouns

PT (WL V)

ST equivalents

(12) ... vou por você ... (10:12)

'(I) go put you ...'

('I will put you ...')

... te colocarei

'...(I) you will put.'

('... I will make thee')

PT (WL V)

ST equivalents

(13) ... roupa dele. (2:4)

'... clothes of he'.

('....his cloak').

....seu vestido

('...his garment')

(14) ... o adoraram. (8:4)

... (They) him worshipped'.

(... (They) worshipped him').

... o adoraram

'... him (they) worshipped.

('... (They) worshipped him')

(15) Corte e jogue fora. (11:5)

'Cut and throw away'.

('... cut it off and throw it away').

... corta-o e atira-o para longe de ti.

'... cut it and throw it to far from thee'.

('Cut them off and cast them from thee').

(16) Disse a ele. (12:4)

'(He) said to he'.

('He said to him').

Disse - lhe.

(' (He) saith unto him').

(17) Mas eu afirmo a vocês ... (13:3)

'But I affirm to you ...'

('I tell you ...')

E eu vos digo ...

('And (yet) I say unto you ...')

(18) Amem seus inimigos. (17:5)

'Love your (pl.) enemies'.

Amai a vossos inimigos.

'Love your enemies'.

(19) Depois abriram suas caixas ...

'After (they) opened their ^(18:1) boxes..'

('They brought out their gifts ..')

E abrindo os seus tesouros ...

'And opening the their treasures...

('When they had opened their treasures ...')

(20) ... e lhe ofereceram presentes
(5:1)

'... and (they) him offered presents.

('and presented them to him')

... lhe ofertaram ...

'... him (they) offered ...'

('... they presented unto him ...')

PT (WL V)

ST equivalents

- (21) ... aqueles que os amam ... (9:3)
'... those who you (pl.) love'.
('... people who love you ...')
- (22) ... o entregará à polícia. (9:2)
'... you (he) will hand over to the police'.
('... (he) will hand you over to the police').
- (23) Se alguém obrigar você ... (10:4)
'If someone obliges you ...'
('If ... forces you ...').
- (24) ... e lhes deu autoridade. (14:7)
'... and (he) them gave authority'.
('... and gave them authority').
- (25) ... luz de vocês ... (3:1)
'... your light ...'
- ... os que vos amam ...
('... them which love you ...')
- ... te entregue ao oficial ...
'... you (he) hand over to the officer ...'
(' (he) deliver thee to the officer ...').
- ... se qualquer te obrigar ...
'... if any you oblige ...'
('Whosoever shall compel thee ...').
- ... deu-lhes poder ...
(' (he) gave them power').
- ... vossa luz ...
'... your light ...'

2.3.2 Negation

ST (WL II)

PT equivalents

- (26) ... nem jamaiz haverá (6:1)
'... not even ever there will be'.
('... neither shall be').
- (27) De modo nenhum te acontecerá isso. (8:1)
'Of mode none you will happen this'.
('This shall not be unto thee').
- ... nunca mais haverá.
'... never more there will be'.
('... nor will there ever be').
- Isso não pode te acontecer de jeito nenhum.
'This not must you happen of way none'.
('That must never happen to you').

- (28) Nada respondeu. (9:1)
'Nothing (he) answered'.
('... he answered nothing').
- (29) João não fez sinal algum.
(11:7)
'John not did sign some'.
('John did no miracle').
- (30) Não fez diferença alguma
(11:10)
'Not (he) made difference some'.
('and) put no difference ...').
- (31) Não pequei em coisa alguma
(12:1)
'Not (I) sinned in thing some'.
('Neither ... have I offended anything at all').
- (32) Não tenho homem algum ... (13:2)
'Not (I) have man some ...
('I have no man ...').
- (33) Não nos é lícito matar pessoa alguma.
(15:1)
'Not us (it) is lawful (to) kill person some'.
('It is not lawful for us to put any man to death').
- (34) Não o digas a alguém. (17:1)
'Not it tell to someone'.
('See thou tell no man').
- (35) Nenhuma culpa acho neste homem
(20:1)
'No fault (I) find in this man'.
('I have found no fault in this man').
- Não respondeu nada.
'Not (he) answered nothing'.
('... he said nothing').
- João não fez nenhum milagre.
'John not did none miracle'.
('John performed no miracles').
- Não fez nenhuma diferença.
'Not (he) made none difference'.
('He made no difference...').
- Não fez nada de mau.
'(Not (I) did nothing of evil'.
('I have done nothing wrong').
- Não tenho ninguém ...
'Not (I) have nobody'.
('I have no one ...').
- Não temos direito de matar ninguém.
'Not (we) have right of kill nobody'.
('We are not allowed to put anyone to death').
- Não conte isso a ninguém.
'Not tell this to nobody'.
('Don't tell anyone').
- Não encontro nele nenhuma culpa.
'Not (I) find in him no fault'.
('I have not found him guilty').

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(36) ... <u>a ninguém</u> dissessem ...
(21:1)</p> <p>'... to nobody (they) told ...'
('... they should tell no man ..').</p> | <p><u>Não</u> contassem <u>a ninguém</u> ...</p> <p>'Not (they) told to nobody ...'
('... not to tell anyone ...').</p> |
| <p>(37) Nunca <u>homem algum</u> falou assim ...
(22:1)</p> <p>'Never man some spoke thus ...'
('Never man spake like this man').</p> | <p><u>Ninguém</u> nunca falou ...</p> <p>'Nobody never spoke ...'
('Nobody has ever talked ...').</p> |
| <p>(38) <u>Não</u> tem feito <u>coisa alguma</u>.
(24:5)</p> <p>'Not (he) has done thing some'.
('Nothing ... is done unto him').</p> | <p><u>Não</u> fez <u>nada</u>.</p> <p>'Not (he) did nothing'.
('There is nothing (this man) has done').</p> |

The first set of samples has been restricted to pronouns. For its construction I took as a point of reference the PT corpus. The reason why I did so is that, so far as the pronoun variants are concerned, I am focussing on forms that have been allowed to enter the NT text via the PT. Therefore the system shared by both versions is not my primary concern in this case, just as I am not primarily interested in systems which are not present in the PT text.

On the other hand, with the second set I intend to show how the meso-lectal forms in PT have departed from the hyper-acrolectal uses (Cf. p. 91) which uniquely define ST. Therefore I am particularly interested in tracing occurrences of such hyper-acrolectal variants in ST, and use them as points of reference for the characterization of the systems at work in PT.

By detecting the presence of lower mesolectal forms in PT and of hyper-acrolectal forms in ST, I shall be disclosing the endpoints of a system

which we have every reason to suspect represents accepted standard usage.

2.4 ALTERNATIONS DETECTED.

The overall pattern of variation detected in both versions of the NT is as follows:

2.4.1 Pronouns

$te^1 \sim você \sim o-2$
 $teu(s) \sim seu(s)$
 $vos \sim vocês \sim os-2$
 $\underline{vosso} \sim \underline{seus}^2 \sim \underline{de\ vocês}$
 $\underline{lhes} \sim \underline{a\ vocês}$
 $\underline{seu(s)} \sim \underline{dele(s)}$
 $\underline{lhe(s)} \sim \underline{a\ ele(s)}$

Variation within PT

$\underline{você(s)} \sim \underline{o(s)-2}$
 $\underline{de\ vocês} \sim \underline{seus}$

1. Te in the combination tu/te is treated here as acrolectal, like its subject counterpart tu. Neither tu nor vós, however, have relevance for this study. Their alternation with vocês and você only shows that as the NT translators replaced them, they allowed themselves at times to bypass acrolectal o/os-2 and favour instead você/vocês.
2. I have not attested any occurrence of seu with a 2nd person plural possessor referent. Such referents are realized by seus, which is ambiguous as to the number of the possessor. In this area, the ST \sim PT alternation is as follows:

$\underline{teu(s)} \sim \underline{seus(s)}$
 $\underline{vosso(s)} \sim \underline{seus}$

Note that seus realizes both singular and plural referents.

a vocês ~ lhes
deles ~ seu(s)
lhe(s) ~ a ele(s)

2.4.2 Negation

ST		PT
<u>jamais</u>	~	<u>nunca</u>
Preposed NEG	~	não + V + NEG
N + <u>algun</u>	~	<u>nenhum</u> + NÃO
<u>coisa alguma</u>	~	<u>nada</u>
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{homem} \\ \text{pessoa} \\ (= \text{alguem}) \end{array} \right\} \text{ algun(a) }$	~	<u>ninguém</u>

2.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This is obviously not intended as a comprehensive analysis of the negation and pronoun systems in the two NT translations. Rather, the ST and the PT texts have served as instruments by which we could test once again the same claims we have been making in the course of this work.

The importance of this last check on our findings lies in the quality of the material that has been made available to us, i.e. it comes from an independent source.

The analysis just made has revealed to us that the so-called popular translation favours unmarked morphological negation and both fully-

stressed and weakly-stressed pronoun forms.

This shows that the observations (or intuitions) underlying the decisions made by the translators coincide with the findings we have put forward in the course of this work.

Correspondingly, the NT text has left out all the basilectal variants, as well as the variants which are not yet fully established in the speakers' consciousness as mesolectal, such as D.O. ele and negative redundant utterances of the (nem + NP) type. The former is invariably expressed by o, and the latter is non-redundant, as the following example indicates:

Nem mesmo em Israel vi tanta fê. (WL V - 20:1).

'Not even in Israel (I) saw so much faith'.

('I have never found faith like this, not even in Israel!').

As for $\tilde{N}AO_f$, there are no occurrences of it in either text. If we take this evidence as final, we can conclude that $\tilde{N}AO_f$ is confined solely to speech. Additional evidence derived from the speech data gathered for this work will take us even further, as no traces of $\tilde{N}AO_f$ have been detected in the acrolectal speech varieties represented in the main corpus. Therefore the $\tilde{N}AO_f$ variant utterances have proved to be definitely non-acrolectal and probably a basilectal feature (also attested in child language; Cf. RFW V - 6). They are now fully integrated into educated everyday speech, like D.O. ele, however unaware informants may be of their regular occurrence.

In conclusion, the linguistic material under investigation is better seen in terms of two different levels: (1) the level of consciousness,

and (2) the sub-conscious level. The systems operating in the PT text represent level 1. They are the output of a conscious and well considered evaluation of what is informal but proper in current BP usage as it is grasped by a team of translators. The astounding fact is that such systems bear exact correspondence to the patterns that emerge from the results of the subjective attitude test, themselves the outcome of a conscious choice. On the other hand, the alternative forms which have been left out of the text, again by deliberate choice, are perhaps as normal in mesolectal usage as the ones incorporated into the text. This is what we infer from the systems uncovered by the analysis of spontaneous speech data. The non-acknowledgement of such systems by the PT team shows that, at least in their current status, they are still at a sub-conscious level.

Now, if we approach the BP negation and pronoun systems of variation via the patterns displayed in the PT text, we cannot justifiably speak of a linguistic continuum. It would be more accurate to regard them as sets of discrete systems, with clearcut switches from basilect to mesolect, and from mesolect to acrolect. If this were the case, variation would be better accounted for in terms of co-existent systems (Cf. Tsuzaki, 1974). However, there is more to it than what we can see through the NT texts, as the level 2 data lead us to believe. Sub-conscious linguistic performance gives us the relevant insights into the shifting nature of the lects. In the case in question, this is brought home to us by the overlapping areas of the two systems, as we have seen (Cf. p. 66), and I shall reproduce here:

In the case of negation, basilectal redundancy enters into the mesolect via the preverbal sentence constituent (NEM + NP), while acrolectal

ALG makes its mesolectal appearance as a postverbal complement in the environment of $N\tilde{A}O_{pv}$. On the other hand, basilectal fully-stressed pronoun forms overlap into the mesolect via the 3rd person personal category (ele), and into the acrolect via the 3rd person possessive category (dele), while weakly-stressed acrolectal forms can also be spotted in the mesolect. Therefore, basilectal negative redundancy and pronominal fully-stressed forms do occur in the mesolect, just as acrolectal ALG negatives and weakly-stressed pronoun forms. This overlapping is explained in terms of the hierarchy of environmental constraints operating on the variant systems.

PART VI. CONCLUSIONS

In this concluding chapter, I wish to look back on the main issues tackled in this work, and forward to the new directions which they have opened up. I shall then close with a brief discussion on the educational implications of the results of this research, particularly in the area of first-language teaching.

1. Reassessment of the creole hypothesis in the light of facts from Brazilian history.

1.1 Recent approaches to creolization.

Among the considerations brought up in the introductory chapter (pp. 3 to 10) there is a discussion of the connections of present-day BP with an original African-based creole, and the manner in which it approximates SP. In other words, the problem raised was: Is BP a post-creole continuum? At that stage I approached the questions from a linguistic viewpoint. In so doing, I reviewed the work of Valkhoff, Révah and Naro, at the cost of by-passing later studies on the same theme, in which the issue is treated socially rather than on purely linguistic grounds. The reason why I allowed the linguistic argument to creep in at that early stage was that I consider it very relevant as a correlate to the social argument. Moreover, once I had surveyed the linguistic data handled by Valkhoff, and analyzed the implications of Révah's and Naro's papers, I found that they were too stimulating to be discarded as redundant in view of the relevant social evidence.

I was particularly impressed by (1) the striking similarities observed

between some of Valkhoff's data and my own; (2) Rēvah's emphatic refusal to admit of a creole origin for BP on both linguistic and social grounds, and (3) Naro's return to Portugal in search of a creolized form of Portuguese to be later imported, ready-made, into Brazil.

Looking back on the use I have made of the information provided by those authors, I do not think that the task of reviewing them was undertaken in vain. On page 76 the reader will find evidence that the creoles of which Valkhoff talks offer an exact parallel with BP at least in regard to the use of fully-stressed pronouns. As the pronominal systems are not taken up by Rēvah, his anti-creole hypothesis is considerably weakened.

It is now high time we looked at later treatments of the creole hypothesis in order to assess the importance of these studies in the light of historical data.

Alleyne (1974) is one of those who recommend that creolization should be looked at within a broader perspective. He suggests that parallel linguistic developments are but the result of parallel social conditions (Cf. 1974:178) i.e. the 'culture of poverty'¹ will yield similar linguistic results wherever it is planted.² Unlike Naro, Alleyne believes that contact situations between Europeans and Africans began in Africa, though

1. Alleyne draws this concept from Oscar Lewis (1961).

2. Curiously enough, what to Alleyne is adequate ground for creolization (i.e. the culture of poverty), to Rēvah is evidence to the contrary. He rounds off his anti-creole argument by invoking Mattoso Câmara and suggesting that the Brazilian linguistic situation needed not be treated along creole lines, since the 'corruption' of SP should be seen as the result of poor schooling (he agrees that early Brazil was a colony of illiterates). I rather think that 'culture of poverty' and 'colony of illiterates' are different labels for the same socio-economic process.

he opposes the idea that the slaves who travelled to the New World spoke a creole as a 'lingua franca'. He argues that, were they speakers of a common language, there would not have been any point in mixing them to avoid inter-tribal communication and the risk of revolt.

Yet it is Whinnom who explicitly defines the conditions under which a pidgin/creole develops, when he discusses language hybridization. He suggests that more than two languages are required, in a language contact situation, for a pidgin (and I shall add: the subsequent creole) to arise: two or more substrate languages under the influence of a target which is not close to any of the participating groups of speakers and therefore not aimed for (Cf. Whinnom, 1974 : 106).

The theory he embraces is that of groups of speakers with no language in common attempting to communicate in a third language and working out their own adaptations for immediate purposes. This view crops up a number of times in Bickerton (1977 : 52), Valdman (1977 : 58), Traugott (1977 : 74), Ferguson and DeBose (1977 : 113), Rickford (1977 : 19) and others, thus representing a broad consensus among creolists today.

Though I am not in a position to enter into a theoretical discussion of the processes of pidginization and creolization (for recent and abundant information on this issue, see Valdman's volume), I would like to take up Hancock's suggestion that 'for these languages (i.e. modern creoles) perhaps more than for the others, the historical rather than the linguistic evidence must provide the principal leads' (Hancock, 1977 : 279), and take a passing look at whatever there is in the social

history of Brazil that might corroborate current views. I shall, however, all along hold on to my original position and, following Rickford (1977), take both sociohistorical conditions and linguistic evidence as equally significant.

1.2 A glimpse at Brazilian history

The rather scant body of facts which have reached us about early Brazilian society leaves no doubt that the social pattern in which Indians, Africans and the Portuguese colonizers interacted was favourable ground for the formation of a pidgin/creole form of communication.

The wholesale destruction of official records pertaining to the slavery period (Cf. Ramos 1956 : 23) blocks the way to discovering the structure of the colonial society. However, what there is documented enables us to track down at least a few of the structural features of that society.

It should be obvious by now that we are not concerned here with the historical and linguistic processes that led to the formation of the Tupi 'lingua franca'. We are interested in isolating the ways in which African slaves speaking a variety of languages mingled, while Portuguese, the language of their masters, coexisted as a sort of unattainable norm. Needless to say, I am not trying to bring in the question of the legitimacy of the substrate/superstrate theory. As I said earlier, I have no theoretical concerns. My interest lies with the description of the problems observable in the Brazilian (and more specifically the ES) community. Only then will I take a broader

look to find out how well they fit in with the basic ideas recently put forward by creolists.

It is not through arbitrary choice that the focus of this analysis has turned to the African/Portuguese component in BP. Rather, the history as well as the geographical location of ES State have been quite important clues. ES is placed by Mendonça (1973 : 56) within the Brazilian third dialectological zone (he divides the country into four zones). Of the third zone he says that it is where the Indian element, which is variously present in the north, 'vai desaparecer completamente diante do negro'. And he adds: 'É exatamente esta a zona de influência africana'.³ On page 39 he says that Bahia, one of the three other States which constitute this third dialectological zone, was the largest slave market in the country and, along with Pernambuco in the northeast, the area which presented the largest concentration of blacks during the first two centuries of colonial history.

Apart from this, even if we allow for the incorporation of national traits in this race portrait, we shall have to agree with Kiernan (1972 : 308) when he says that:

This amalgam [of races] would not have as in Mexico a solidly Indian foundation, for instead of two compact racial and social elements confronting each other, there was a diversity of Indian and European ingredients and a third big contingent from Africa.

3. [...] disappears completely before the negro ... This is precisely the area where the African influence is most noticeable.]

We should also bear in mind that ES is a small coastal State and, as Kiernan points out (1972 : 309), the coast was black and white. Indian-based mixtures were more likely to be found inland.

It is true, though, that whether yellow or black, in both situations we are confronted with a typically multilingual community. Mason (1971 : 305) says that 'a number of African languages were spoken in Brazil within recent memory', and Ramos (1937 : 313) refers to the early language of Brazil as a 'patois', 'abastardado de portuguez e de outras linguas africanas'.⁴

In order to assess the degree of approximation between blacks and whites and their numbers, so as to evaluate their exposure to Portuguese, we would need a far larger body of historical data than there is available. However, it might be of help to consider (1) that 'exceto os Estados Unidos, nenhuma república americana possui tão grande população de cor' (Richard Pattee's Introduction in Ramos, 1956 : 7)⁵; (2) that ES lies between the States of Rio and Bahia, which were among the four largest slave markets (Cf. Ramos, 1956 : 34); (3) that miscegenation in Brazil was such that it left an indelible mark in the mulatto, described by Degler (1971 : 276) as a 'scape hatch'; (4) that this 'mulatto scape hatch' has done a lot to make prejudice and discrimination milder and the opportunities for coloured people greater in Brazil than in the United States. Mason (1971 : 313)

4. [a bastardised form of Portuguese mixed with other African languages.]

5. [apart from the United States, no American republic has such a large coloured population.]

speaks of the freed slaves, mostly mulattoes, as an intermediate tier between masters and slaves. He sees this race system as one whose 'tiers [are] everywhere blurred at the edges', or as a spectrum that 'began to fill in, to make a continuum of colour and of class'.

In a recent report put out by the ES government (Estrutura, 1977 : 20), we read that at the end of the 18th century the population of Vitória showed a white to black ratio of 1 to 2. It is true that this demographic structure was to undergo fundamental changes in the following century with the influx of German and Italian immigrants, but by then the Brazilian language had already reached its maturity. A 20th century illustration of this is the basic structural similarity observed between language varieties spoken by blacks and whites in the villages.

2. Syntactic as opposed to phonological variation:

Lavandera (1978) says that there is a great deal of difficulty in extending the concept of the linguistic variable to syntax due to the more difficult problem of defining 'sameness' in syntactic variants than in phonological variants. She rounds off her discussion by suggesting that the requirement for referential identity be dropped from the analysis of the syntactic variable.

I entirely agree with Lavandera when she argues that non-phonological variants call for a different treatment. However, I find that, rather than dropping referential meaning from the analysis of morphological and syntactic variation, one should set up levels of

linguistic sameness. One of these levels would account for semantic identity, while the others would relate to a hierarchy of structural generalizations.

Considering that syntactic variants involve meaning and structural organization, transition between variants cannot be talked of as continuous in the same sense as phonological variants are. In what sense, then, can syntactic variants be said to be arranged along a continuum and how can a syntactic variable be defined? These are questions that have accompanied the unfolding of the basic arguments in this work. My conclusion is that syntactic variables have to be defined by reference to this semantic-syntactic hierarchy. In order to approach them within a unified analysis, I suggest that we set up macro- and micro-variables, the latter being a particular case of the former. The macro-variable will signal the presence of variant syntactic structures, irrespective of their meaning components, while the micro-variable will be syntactically as well as semantically motivated. In the case in question we have been dealing with two macro-variables: (1) (+ N \tilde{A} O) and (2) (+ stress). Variant structures in either case can be thus represented:

- i. a) N \tilde{A} O + V + NEG \sim NEG + V \sim V + NEG
b) NEG + N \tilde{A} O + V \sim NEG + V

- ii. Weakly-stressed pronoun form \sim fully-stressed pronoun form.

Justification for the emergence of two sets of variant structures in (1) is found on page 133 and I shall reproduce it here: it was my decision to deal with redundancy without, rather than with, concord.

Had it not been so, macro-variable (1) would materialize in one set of variants, like (2).

We can easily see that such macro-variables and variants are rather complex units. To begin with, they are fairly comprehensive, since NEG as well as stressed form are generalizations which realize themselves in a variety of morphs. Besides, in the case of (1) there are constraints on the choice of morphemes under NEG, dependent on its position in the utterance, which are not explicit in the structural representation. In the case of (2), at least one important feature is left out, which is the order constraint, i.e. fully-stressed forms do not occur pre-verbally, like the weakly-stressed ones. These features show through at another level:

i. a) $\pm \text{N}\tilde{\text{A}}\text{O}_{\text{pv}}$:

$$\text{N}\tilde{\text{A}}\text{O} + \text{V} + \text{NEG}_{\text{ptv}} \sim \text{NEG}_{\text{ptv}} + \text{V}$$

b) $\pm \text{N}\tilde{\text{A}}\text{O}_{\text{r}}$:

$$\text{NEG}_{\text{pv}} + \text{N}\tilde{\text{A}}\text{O} + \text{V} \sim \text{NEG}_{\text{pv}} + \text{V}$$

ii. $\begin{array}{l} + \text{ stressed form} \\ - \text{ stressed form} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} / \\ / \end{array} \begin{array}{l} \text{V} \text{-----} \\ \text{-----V} \end{array}$

Obviously, we are still dealing with the outer form of language. If we reach further down so as to bring out the semantic component, we shall have to set up lower-level variables and variants. It so happens, however, that for (1) meaning will only come in at the level of the variant. The variable will remain a higher-level one.

(a) NÃO + V + NADA \sim NADA + V

(b) NINGUÉM + NÃO + V \sim NINGUÉM + V

This signals purely syntactic variation. Environments will then be defined linearly as for phonological variants.

In the case of (2), a move down will entail morphological realization and environments will be defined at two levels: (a) linearly, i.e., at the syntactic level (preverbal vs postverbal), and (b) paradigmatically, that is, the pattern of morphological variation is linked up with the person categories. As we can see, syntactic and morphological variation are intertwined, and yet referential identity between variants still obtains. In other words, variation takes place at a morphological level but it is not entirely free from syntactic implications. Word order requirements have been handled at the variable level:

me viu \sim viu eu.

Here it is the person category that is acting as a constraining force. Environment is, therefore, equal to person.

I realize that this is not the accepted way of defining environments. Yet I do not see any other way of identifying them in this particular case. The fact that environments are not parts of the utterance but a morphological category, and the fact that variants will not be disclosed until they are morphologically realized make me think of this instance of variation as morphological as well as syntactic.

Now, in what ways can we detect a continuum in syntactic variation and how are we to define sameness? My conclusion is that a syntactic continuum is not linguistic in the sense in which a phonetic/phonological continuum is. A syntactic continuum has no linguistic autonomy like the phonological; it cannot be reproduced and segmented in a laboratory. It exists as a function of social interaction alone.

As for sameness, it has to be defined in relation to the level of variability at which one is working. Above we have been confronted with sameness at two levels: structural and referential. Syntactic variation cannot be established, unless these various 'samenesses' are conveniently sorted out.

3. The BP language continuum.

The analysis which we have carried out reveals that the BP language varieties operate along a dynamic continuum, i.e. they are non-discrete systems that undergo progressive restructuring as they lose their creole-based features and approach the so-called standard language. We cannot therefore think of the BP lects as systems that simply coexist. The way they relate to one another and to the school norm leaves us in no doubt that they have moved along an unidirectional axis which can well be identified with the decreolization process. Nevertheless, at one stage this process was reversed and recreolization took over. It is therefore the mesolect that emerges as the new standard.

These features of the BP system show up in both the negation and the pronoun systems. However, although they are parallel continua within

the structure of a polylectal macro-system (about polylectal systems see Bickerton, 1972), they differ in one important aspect: the pace of the movement. In other words, basilectal rules are not replaced by acrolectal ones at the same point. This gives us a somewhat altered picture of the shape of change, i.e. it goes along in waves which do not necessarily coincide in space (or time?).

4. The time dimension:

I feel that the time dimension has been forcing its way through all along the composition of this work. In conclusion I would like to tackle the issue briefly, if only to point to new approaches to the data and to more dynamic analyses, in which change in progress will be given a place. Should this perspective be added, we might be able to work out predictions as to changes in progress in BP. In connection with negation and the pronoun system, I would suggest that a sound hypothesis would include the following assumptions:

- i. preverbal weakly-stressed object pronoun forms will be replaced by postverbal fully-stressed forms;
- ii. redundant negation will replace non-redundant negation;
- iii. the first element of concord will be deleted;
- iv. hyperacrolectal forms such as ALG and 0-2 (let alone tu and vōs/vos, which have merited just a passing comment in this work) will go out of BP;
- v. replacements will take place gradually, in accordance with a hierarchy of constraints to which the one offered in this work might serve as a clue.

These changes would lead to the formation of a new standard. For negation and personal pronouns, standard norms might be thus summarized: (1) Pronoun case is syntactically defined; (2) Preverbal negation is reinforced by an additional NAO, particularly when the negators are non-adjacent; (3) There is no negative concord; (4) There are no ALG-negators.

If such predictions can be taken seriously at all, it will be plausible to assume that the drift to which I referred in the Introduction (p. 2) will be a drift away from morphologically marked linguistic processes in the case of the pronouns. Under such circumstances, word order becomes crucial since it turns out to be the only carrier of meaning. At some stage (Cf. p. 166) it appeared to us that opposing tendencies were finding their way through the negation and pronoun systems. To summarize it: both the negation and pronoun systems appeared to be affected simultaneously by loss and retention of redundancy. The easy way out would be to close the discussion by saying that we ought not to expect language systems to behave so as to be affected simultaneously by the same process in exactly the same way. An alternative course of action would entail further investigation into the nature of redundancy and its repercussions on the systems in question.

Summing up, I shall suggest that acrolectal pronominal redundancy and negative concord are structural processes while basilectal pronominal redundancy and negative redundancy proper are instances of meaning reinforcement or semantic redundancy. The former is a case of superfluous grammatical mechanisms being duplicated in surface structure. The latter cannot be regarded as superfluous, since it is a case of meaning reinforcement and therefore a deep structure phenomenon.

Therefore the two processes cannot be regarded as contradictory.

What is happening is a move from more to less complex forms through concord reduction and case levelling, while preverbal negation re-creolizes through redundancy.

In other words, what we find at the basis of the negation and pronoun continua is maintenance of continuous syntagmatic redundancy (or reinforcement) and loss of discontinuous syntagmatic redundancy (or concord reduction) and of paradigmatic redundancy (or case levelling).

5. The mesolectal norm in the light of social trends in the ES society:
I still wish to add a word about the social correlates of the linguistic phenomena by which a mesolectal norm becomes the socially unmarked language variety.

If we compare some of the figures brought out by the ES Office for Education, we shall see that this movement towards the centre has a correlate in social facts. Let us first look at facts that speak for creolization. In 1780, the population of the ES capital, Vitória, was estimated around 15,000, of which not one was reported to be a 'letrado formado' (Cf. Estrutura, 1977 : 20)⁶. Figures for the 1970/1980 decade show that schooling is no longer a rare commodity. Besides, a considerable number of people even have access to tertiary education, as shown by the Table below (Cf. Estrutura 1977 : 32).

6. [a trained language user]

TABLE 62. PERCENTAGES RECEIVING EDUCATION

Years of Schooling (ES)						
Years	1 to 4	5 to 8	9 to 11	12 +	No Education	Undeclared
1970	46.70	11.30	3.14	3.14	35.70	0.02
1977	51.97	17.40	7.80	2.57	17.44	2.82

Information concerning the literacy rate is also revealing. While colonial Brazil, elsewhere described as a colony of illiterates (Cf. p. 4), had to struggle with precarious education, the literacy rate in ES has increased gradually in both urban and rural areas. The figures reported for 1977 (Cf. Espírito Santo: Crescimento e Desigualdade Social 1979 : 70) indicate that literacy has spread to 71.75 per cent of the ES population, and schooling has been extended to 79.42 per cent of the population in the 7 to 14 age group (Cf. Espírito Santo: Crescimento e Desigualdade Social 1979 : 72). If we cast these figures against the background of the structure of the Vitória population and society in 1856 (25 per cent were slaves Cf. Estrutura 1977 : 21), we can only wonder at the speed of the process.

To this we should add the following facts: (1) the reduced growth of the rural population between 1940 and 1970 (Cf. Estrutura 1977 : 31), and (2) the increase in the population of Greater Vitória as a result of migration from the rural areas. The city of Vitória is reported to have been one of the fastest-growing cities in Brazil during the 1960/1970 decade (Cf. Estrutura 1977 : 37). We must admit, though, that living conditions on the periphery of the city were even more

precarious than they had been in the country (Cf. Estrutura 1977 : 56), but it is beyond doubt that the speakers' full exposure to the city norms, which followed migration, to the detriment of the more creolized rural varieties must have speeded up the decreolizing process.

We are not to assume, though, that this enormous contingent of country dwellers who came to settle in the Capital of the State of ES were entirely passive in their interaction with their new neighbours, as this would imply failure to acknowledge the important role of convergence in verbal interaction (Cf. Giles and Powesland 1975 : 149-153. on response matching). My conclusion is then that massive migration together with a decline in the standards of education are at the onset of recreolization, since the existing schools were not equipped to retain a minimum standard of excellence while catering for such a mixed and ever-growing population. Repercussions of this overall lowering of standards on tertiary education has helped to drive the acrolect to draw further and further away, thus making room for the mesolect. Figures show that between 1970 and 1977 University attendance was brought down from 3.14 per cent to 2.57 per cent (Cf. Table 63). And this was despite the lifting of restrictions on entrance requirements.

6. Weaknesses:

6.1 The subjective attitude test:

Its main weakness lies in the design itself, in which too much was taken for granted. This may mislead the reader into thinking that the numerous pilot trials that brought about design reformulation and resulted in the final version were to no avail. This is not,

however, the case. The original version of the experiment was enormously reduced in length and scope, and questions were replaced so as to meet with better understanding from respondents. In addition, feedback from previous runs resulted in the cancellation of variants that were found to be too minute to be perceived by the ordinary speaker.

Apart from this, the previous trials were for obvious reasons addressed to a restricted and selected public. My conclusion now is that, if my goal was to reach the general public, the questions proposed should have been broken down into smaller and simpler units. Moreover, however much I tried to converge towards what I believe to be the language variety controlled by the ordinary BP speaker, as I look back I realize that the phrasing of the questions fall short of clarity and explicitness in terms of the informant's perceptual competence. In other words, the questionnaire turned out to be a difficult task. As a result of this, we had to cope with imperfections derived from misapprehension of such basic concepts as 'negative', for instance, or the informant's inability to sort out his own intuitions in connection with pronouns or negators which would have been better understood in lengthier speech samples. However, far more disrupting was the absence of prosodic features which might have served as clues to discrimination between variants. This means that responses to written material ought to have been checked against a listening test on the same material. I would suggest that further experimentation does not dispense with double-checking, as I am confident that the results we have harvested so far will then show up in more striking salience.

7. New directions:

At least four areas of research have offered themselves as a result of this investigation. They are:

7.1 Relations between word order and style in BP.

Apparently word order is a very general and systematic stylistic marker in BP. I think it would be worthwhile to follow up the processes by which $S + V$, $Det + N$, $Q + N$, $V + Obj$ (under which one class of $V + NEG$ is subsumed), weakly-stressed $Pron \underline{o} + V$, and others, will change into $V + S$, $N + Det$, $N + Q$, $Obj + V$ and $V +$ weakly-stressed $Pron \underline{o}$. This line of investigation might provide new insights into such concepts as topicalization, thematization and markedness.

7.2 Linguistic constraints on the occurrence of $\tilde{N}AO_f$ ($\tilde{N}AO_2$ included).

I have noticed that there are clear restrictions on the occurrence of $\tilde{N}AO_f$ (Cf. p. 64). Therefore there must be an underlying system that accounts for such restrictions. The making of this system explicit by means of a set of rules might bring out the full range of relations between $\tilde{N}AO_f$ and the utterance to which it is attached. This would provide further testing for the suggestion I make on page 64 that $\tilde{N}AO_f$ is an elocutionary force indicating device.

7.3 The nature of transitivity.

We have seen that there is a class of verbs that lends itself to $Subj + V$ reversal in a unique fashion. This class is represented in this work by the Ninguém + $V \sim \tilde{N}AO + V$ ninguém alternants. I decided to label the utterances in which this class of verbs occurs as reversible (Cf. p. 115). At first reversibility seemed

to be a function of the intransitive verbs. Yet it soon became clear that it could not be applied to all intransitive verbs. For instance, Ninguém chegou ~ Não chegou ninguém 'Nobody arrived' ~ 'Not arrived nobody' is not in the same class as Ninguém chorou ~ Não chorou ninguém 'Nobody cried' ~ 'Not cried nobody'. In fact, I am not at all sure that Não chorou ninguém is a well-formed utterance. I think that this may turn out to be a productive area of research. I would suggest that reversible negative utterances be investigated in conjunction with non-negative ones. I suspect that results will lead to a clearer characterization of intransitivity and will shed light on the relation between word order, reversibility and negation.

7.4 Further research on negative redundancy.

This ought perhaps to have come under weaknesses. I find that negative redundancy covers more linguistic ground than appears in our final statement, and I would suggest that our original hypothesis (Cf. p. 69) be submitted to further testing, but not without additional data. The additional data will probably come from central areas in the north of the State which I have not been able to reach.

3. Educational implications:

We are now aware that vernacular and standard varieties of BP can be quite removed from one another. So much so that in some areas of grammar extreme lects might operate very much as distinct languages. The widespread occurrence of lower mesolectal forms in spontaneous educated speech and their gradual admittance into writing show that a tacit compromise is being reached between the upper acrolect and the lower basilect. This fact is confirmed by the growing acceptance

of formerly rejected forms, as the results of the attitude test have shown. Decrease in conscious rejection of linguistic variants is therefore supported by massive occurrence in unmonitored speech, and this is good reason for believing that it is time for the legitimacy of the school target to be questioned.

Educational authorities are no longer overlooking this problem.

Signs of this growing awareness can be detected in the ES government

Reports that we have examined. In one of them we read:

O desempenho escolar é por sua vez desigual para as diversas classes sociais. Contribui para esta diferença de desempenho a própria estruturação dos cursos e currículos e dos padrões de avaliação estabelecidos que não levam em consideração a realidade dos desníveis sociais existentes.⁷
(Cf. Espírito Santo: crescimento e desigualdade social 1979 : 32).

The pupils' conditions are also examined and the conclusion is that they are:

fruto de uma educação familiar difusa onde imperam valores outros que os que lhe são impostos pela escola.⁸ (Cf. Espírito Santo: crescimento e desigualdade social 1979 : 32).

Clearly, what is being suggested is that the Brazilian school is implementing an educational programme which is dissociated from the pupils' needs. According to Paulo Freire (1978), this is not education for freedom.

7. [Success in school is in turn unequal for the various social classes. One of the causes of these different levels of achievement lies in curriculum and course design as well as in the setting up of standards of assessment which do not take into consideration the reality of social stratification.]

8. [they result from a diffuse kind of home education in which the predominant values differ from those imposed by the school.]

I think that a more explicit and comprehensive portrayal of the situation will undoubtedly amplify the issue so as to bring in its linguistic facets. We shall then be in a position to speak of the reality of different linguistic levels which correspond to different linguistic values in society.

These two sets of values and realities (social and linguistic) have shown through in this work. Here is an example: If we look back on page 113 we shall see that for utterances containing the feature Marked ALG we obtained two clear-cut responses: (1) Informants with average education were not able to capture the meaning of the utterances on a first reading. Generally they required more linguistic context, and even then felt that the utterances were strangely formal; (2) Working class uneducated informants showed hesitation as to the meaning of the utterances and were puzzled by their form. Admittedly, one of them did behave as if he recognized the stylistic connections of ALG (Cf. p. 113), but then his life history betrayed frequent exposure to the target. I shall add a third response which was observed in interviews with my University colleagues, i.e., highly educated informants expressed full immediate understanding of the utterances and no rejection.

All this leads us to think that, while we cannot join Le Page (1977 : 243), when he states that the study of 'grammar' is to the creole child 'something very important but very artificial - a white man's trick that had to be mastered', we can certainly echo him by saying that in our particular case the study of grammar is a rich man's trick that has to be mastered.

From the above one may get the impression that I am advocating the proclamation of the vernacular as an all-purpose language. Far from it. Studies in the area of verbal communication have shown the importance of stylistic expansion. In fact a typical case of stylistic limitation (or 'reduction of options'. Cf. Le Page 1977 : 232) is the simplification of language in contact situations. And we know only too well that contact interaction is no model of successful communication. As Valdman says:

success in communication transcends the efficient transmission of messages and requires demonstration of considerable stylistic manoeuvre on the part of the speaker (Valdman 1977 : 158).

Then, if a broad stylistic spectrum is a desirable feature of verbal communication, we cannot require less from the educational system than a full awareness of the total conditions under which real verbal exchanges take place.

Mendonça (1972 : 55) says that most Brazilian philologists are more keen to deal with Lusitanic themes than to tackle the rich facets of Brazilian dialectology.

It should be clear by now that, in the case of Brazil, the question can be approached from two main angles: (1) social attitude and (2) language programme.

(1) Social attitude:

This is certainly a complex issue, as it is tied up with a wide range of social questions of no easy solution which lie outside the scope of this chapter. However, we must admit that the school has an

important contribution to make to the child's establishment of social (and linguistic) values and it is through the school that a linguistically unprejudiced social attitude can be developed.

(2) Language programme:

Linguistic information should be at the basis of any educational programme geared to the achievement of higher standards of verbal communication.

In this work I have attempted to gauge social attitude to language via a sociolinguistic analysis of negation and pronouns. Analysis of results points in two different, but complementary directions:

(1) The establishment of an emerging standard which we have called mesolect, and the necessity for surveying the linguistic structure of the ES post-creole continuum so as to provide a comprehensive picture of this emerging standard as it presents itself today in real communicative acts. (2) The admittance that the fact that the Brazilian school does not take linguistic variation into consideration for the designing of its language programmes is bringing about problems whose solution ought to be sought in linguistic research.

Inferences from the two directions just suggested indicate that the failure of our language programmes to achieve their goals cannot be traced to the mental deficiency of lower-class children. True, malnutrition is not at all a negligible factor, but I trust that it is being dealt with in other quarters. What I wish to emphasize here is that we are confronted with problems resulting from difference,

not from deficit (Cf. p. 14), and that part of the solution will come from linguistic research.

9. An educational proposal:

If the question is one of difference, we had better set about pinning down differences and reserving room for them in the language programme. This is not to say that acrolectal forms should be left out altogether. There certainly will be a place for them, but not until varieties closer to the child's (or adult's, for that matter) experience have been explored to the full.

This is not, of course, a new problem. Extreme cases of standard/vernacular contact have been extensively discussed by experts in the field (Cf. Fasold 1976, for a report on the contributions of sociolinguistic to bilingual education) and the conclusion seems to be that educational programmes should not dispense with the information derived from sociolinguistic research. In fact, in Bull's review of the UNESCO monograph on the use of vernacular languages in education (Bull, 1964 : 528) one reads that:

The UNESCO committee's major reaction to this formidable situation ... is ... that every pupil should begin his formal education in his mother tongue.

i.e. in the vernacular.⁹

9. It is interesting to note that in Parecer No. 4.031 (which deals with a proposal for the launching of a campaign pro restoration of the Portuguese language in Brazil), one comes across a reference to UNESCO in which the author of the report comments on the importance that is given, in Europe, to the learning of the vernacular languages (Parecer 1975 : 46). Obviously, we are here confronted with a misreading of the position of UNESCO, due to a misunderstanding of the word 'vernacular'.

**PAGE
MISSING
IN
ORIGINAL**

A language programme based on such premises will (1) take stock of the varieties in use and set up local targets; (2) make syllabuses and textbooks suitable for the transmission of each target (social grammars will result); (3) encourage free expression in the local variety, both in speech and writing; (4) introduce acrolectal standards once other priorities have been met.

I realize that this is too idealistic a programme. In terms of the results of this work, the following concrete steps can be immediately suggested as a basis for the setting up of a pilot project.

- i. At the initial stages the lower mesolectal forms ele and redundant (NEM + NP) + NÃO + V will be incorporated in the social grammar.
- ii. Acrolectal forms such as negative ALG and pronoun o will not be presented until the pupil has been extensively trained in the use of his native constructions.
- iii. Stigmatized forms such as redundant negative constructions other than the one mentioned in (2) and 1st and 2nd person stressed pronouns will be tolerated in oral and written expression.
- iv. Other acrolectal variants will be gradually introduced and literary forms will be treated as options which may or may not be taken. Permanent follow-up will show how far along the continuum each programme should be carried.

As prestige and stigma will not be similarly perceived everywhere, the above suggestions will undergo adaptation from place to place. I suggest that a language teaching programme based on those propositions be carried out experimentally in a typically basilectal community, perhaps in a city suburb. At the end of the experiment the question should be put as to how the speaker's linguistic adjustment to his community has been affected by this gradual expansion of his lectal repertoire and the changing attitude towards his native language variety.

The procedures just outlined are reminiscent of second-language learning. I do not wonder at the similarity, as in some cases the standard language functions very much like a foreign language.

I suspect that we are now hitting at another important aspect of language learning which is also a source of concern to the Brazilian educational authorities, i.e. second-language learning. Fascinating though it is, this topic does not concern us here, at least not in its standard version. However, we shall not drop it without first turning to Corder (1977) and Bickerton (1977) for a closing remark. If second-language learning bears any similarity to standard-language learning, then what those two authors have to say has relevance for the Brazilian situation. On commenting on the 'heuristic device' or 'initial' hypothesis available to second language learners, Corder says that,

in learning of second languages the learner's inter-language betrays evidence of interference not principally from his mother tongue but from other second languages he possesses, however imperfectly mastered (Corder 1975 : 7. See also Bickerton 1975 : 174).

On tackling a related aspect of the problem, Bickerton (1977 : 51) hints at the bearing of one's linguistic background on his processing of a second language. He refers to the 'natives' who came into contact with merchants and seamen as:

multilingual autodidacts with well-developed strategies for acquiring second, third and even nth languages.

My purpose in quoting these two authors is to draw attention to the significance of the relationship between a learner's previous linguistic knowledge and his learning of another language. Whether or not the quality of this knowledge will interfere with the learner's later performance in language learning is anybody's guess. I shall however suggest that language teaching be viewed as a whole. In the specific case of Brazil this means that second language teaching should be examined against the background of the standard/vernacular issue.

A P P E N D I C E S

1. Questionnaire
2. Appendix to the questionnaire
3. Tables showing total number of responses to questionnaire, as in Appendix 1.
4. Data.

1. Questionnaire.

Prezado informante,

Gostaríamos de saber sua opinião sobre o uso de frases no português de nossa área. Neste questionário você terá oportunidade de manifestar-se sobre o sentido das frases, sua frequência no uso diário, se está satisfeito com elas ou se desejaria alterá-las, se são enfáticas e em que contextos ocorrem. Você terá também que distinguir entre frases aceitáveis e não-aceitáveis. Na página 1 você encontrará instruções sobre o que significa aceitabilidade, para os fins deste questionário.

Sua contribuição será muitíssimo apreciada.

('Dear Informant,

We would like to hear your opinion about the use of sentences in the Portuguese spoken in this area. In this questionnaire you will have the opportunity to express your views on the meaning of sentences, their frequency in daily use, whether you find them satisfactory or would rather have them altered; whether they are emphatic, and in what contexts they occur. You will also be asked to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable sentences. On page 1 you will find instructions as to what is meant by acceptability for the purposes of this questionnaire.

Your contribution will be very much appreciated.')

Lembrete: Uma frase só deve ser dada como não-aceitável quando ela é considerada inexistente no português que você fala, ouve, escreve e lê, em todas as suas variedades. Formas típicas do interior ou da fala de pessoas com pouca instrução são tidas como aceitáveis, apesar de não se conformarem com as normas do português padrão. (Ex: Nós tudo cantemo o hino é uma frase aceitável, enquanto que Tudo nós cantemo hino é nao-aceitável). Formas literárias, ainda que raras em conversas informais, são também aceitáveis. Você tem ampla liberdade para recusar frases, por julgá-las não-aceitáveis, seja qual for a questão. O símbolo de não-aceitação é 'N'. Use sempre os parênteses para indicar a sua opinião.

('Reminder: Utterances are said to be unacceptable when they strike you as strange in the Portuguese you speak, hear, write and read. Utterances typical of rural or uneducated speech are regarded as acceptable, even though they do not conform with the grammar of Standard Portuguese (e.g. Nós tudo cantemo o hino is acceptable, whereas Tudo nós cantemo hino is unacceptable). Literary constructions, rare though they may be in informal chats, are also acceptable. You are entirely free to reject utterances, in cases where you find them unacceptable, whatever the question. The symbol for unacceptability is 'N'. Indicate your opinion by writing in the brackets.')

Sections:

- I. Qual o grau de aceitação de cada frase? Atribua uma nota de acordo com a seguinte escala:

('What is the degree of acceptability of each sentence? Assign a mark according to the following scale):

1. Plenamente aceitável.
('Fully acceptable').
2. Mais ou menos aceitável.
('More or less acceptable').
3. Não-aceitável.
('Not acceptable').

Items	JB's responses
a - (1)	(1) Ele não fez nada não.
(2)	(2) Ele não fez nada coisa nenhuma.
(3)	(1) Ele não fez coisa nenhuma não.
(4)	(2) Ele não fez coisa nenhuma nada.
b - (5)	(1) Ele não fez o teste nada.
(6)	(1) Ele não fez o teste não.
(7)	(1) Ele não fez o teste coisa nenhuma.

- (8) (2) Ele não fez o teste nada não.
- (9) (2) Ele não fez o teste não nada.
- c - (10) (1) Ele não veio coisa nenhuma.
- (11) (1) Ele não veio não.
- (12) (1) Ele não veio nada.
- (13) (1) Ele não veio coisa nenhuma não.
- (14) (2) Ele não veio nada não.
- d - (15) (1) Ele não fez nada em favor dos estudantes.
- (16) (2) Nada não fez ele em favor dos estudantes.
- (17) (1) Ele nada fez em favor dos estudantes.
- (18) (2) Ele nada não fez em favor dos estudantes.
- e - (19) (1) Ele não fez coisa alguma em favor dos estudantes.
- (20) (2) Coisa alguma não fez ele em favor dos estudantes.
- (21) (2) Coisa alguma ele fez em favor dos estudantes.
- (22) (2) Ele coisa alguma não fez em favor dos estudantes.
- f - (23) (1) Ninguém fez coisa alguma em favor dos estudantes.
- (24) (1) Ninguém não fez coisa alguma em favor dos estudantes.
- (25) (2) Pessoa alguma fez coisa alguma em favor dos estudantes.
- (26) (2) Pessoa alguma não fez coisa alguma em favor dos estudantes.

II. Examine os pares de frases abaixo e coloque um '+' ao lado da frase mais satisfatória e um '-' ao lado da menos satisfatória. Se as duas lhe parecerem igualmente satisfatórias, coloque '+' ao lado de cada uma; se lhe parecerem igualmente não-satisfatórias, coloque '-'. Caso você recuse alguma frase, indique sua opinião colocando 'N' nos parênteses.

('Examine the pairs of sentences below and write '+' beside the more satisfactory and '-' beside the less satisfactory sentence. If both sentences look equally satisfactory to you, write '+' against each; if they look equally unsatisfactory, write '-'. If you reject either sentence, express your opinion by writing 'N' in the brackets.')

- a - (27) (-) Ele nunca não olhou para mim.
- (28) (+) Ele nunca nem olhou para mim.
- b - (29) (-) Ninguém não disse nada.
- (30) (-) Ninguém não fez o teste.
- c - (31) (+) Ninguém não veio.
- (32) (-) Ninguém não disse nada.

- d - (33) (-) Ninguém não fez o teste.
 (34) (+) Ninguém não veio.
- e - (35) (+) Ninguém veio.
 (36) (+) Não veio ninguém.
- f - (37) (+) Ninguém veio não.
 (38) (-) Pessoa alguma veio não.
- g - (39) (+) Ele não fez coisa alguma não.
 (40) (+) Ele não fez nada não.
- h - (41) (+) Ele não fez coisa alguma.
 (42) (+) Ele não fez nada.
- i - (43) (+) Ele não viu ninguém não.
 (44) (+) Ele não viu pessoa alguma não.
- j - (45) (+) Mano, o Carlos não tem condução, ele tem que ir no seu jipe.
 (46) (-) Mano, o Carlos não tem condução, ele tem que ir no jipe de você.
- k - (47) (+) Gente, o Carlos não tem condução, ele tem que ir no jipe de vocês.
 (48) (-) Gente, o Carlos não tem condução, ele tem que ir no seu jipe.
- l - (49) (-) Pessoa alguma fez coisa alguma não.
 (50) (+) Ninguém fez nada não.
- m - (51) (-) Carlos já tem condução. Ele vai viajar no seu jipe.
 (52) (+) Carlos já tem condução. Ele vai viajar no jipe dele.
- n - (53) (-) Colegas, seus ideais serão atingidos na medida dos seus esforços.
 (54) (+) Colegas, os ideais de vocês serão atingidos na medida dos seus esforços.
- o - (55) (-) Aos pais nossa gratidão pelas suas lutas em nosso favor.
 (56) (+) Aos pais nossa gratidão pelas lutas deles em nosso favor.
- p - (57) (-) Ninguém não me disse que ia voltar.
 (58) (-) Ninguém não nos disse que ia voltar.
- q - (59) (+) Nunca disse ele nada que os empolgasse.
 (60) (+) Jamais disse ele coisa alguma que os empolgasse.
- r - (61) (-) Sequer apareceu ele em cena.
 (62) (+) Nem apareceu ele em cena.
- s - (63) (+) A ninguém premiou o governo este ano.
 (64) (+) A pessoa alguma premiou o governo este ano.
- t - (65) (+) Nunca atendeu ele aos apelos dos pais.

- (66) (+) Jamais atendeu ele aos apelos dos pais.
- u - (67) (-) Nada fez ele nunca para conquistar a confiança do povo.
- (68) (+) Coisa alguma fez ele jamais para conquistar a confiança do povo.

III. Examine os pares de frases abaixo e verifique qual das duas você usaria em um discurso e qual a mais comum. Indique sua opinião colocando '1' ao lado da frase típica de discurso e '2' diante da frase comum.

('Examine the pairs of sentences below and check which of the two you would use in a formal speech and which is the more common. Express your opinion by writing '1' beside the sentence typical of speeches, and '2' against the common one.')

- a - (69) (2) Ele não disse nada.
- (70) (1) Ele não disse coisa alguma.
- b - (71) (2) Ele jamais protestou.
- (72) (1) Ele em tempo algum protestou.
- c - (73) (2) Ele jamais protestou.
- (74) (1) Ele nunca protestou.
- d - (75) (2) Ele nunca protestou.
- (76) (1) Ele em tempo algum protestou.
- e - (77) (2) Ele nunca disse nada.
- (78) (1) Ele nunca disse coisa nenhuma.
- f - (79) (2) Ele não fez nada para vencer.
- (80) (1) Ele nada fez para vencer.
- g - (81) (2) Ele não fez coisa alguma que impressionasse.
- (82) (1) Coisa alguma ele fez que impressionasse.
- h - (83) (2) Nada fez ele que impressionasse.
- (84) (1) Coisa alguma fez ele que impressionasse.
- i - (85) (2) Ninguém compareceu.
- (86) (1) Pessoa alguma compareceu.
- j - (87) (2) Ele não foi a lugar algum.
- (88) (1) Ele não foi a lugar nenhum.
- k - (89) (1) Ele jamais disse coisa alguma que agradasse.
- (90) (2) Ele nunca disse coisa alguma que agradasse.
- l - (91) (2) Ele nunca disse nada que agradasse.

- (92) (1) Ele nunca disse coisa alguma que agradasse.
- m - (93) (2) Nada ele fez que agradasse.
- (94) (1) Coisa alguma ele fez que agradasse.
- n - (95) (1) Ele de forma alguma veio.
- (96) (2) Ele não veio de forma alguma.
- o - (97) (2) Ele não foi a lugar algum.
- (98) (1) Ele a lugar algum foi.
- p - (99) (2) Eu disse a ele que não viesse.
- (100) (1) Eu lhe disse que não viesse.
- q - (101) (2) Ele não tem nenhum interesse no negócio.
- (102) (1) Ele não tem qualquer interesse no negócio.
- r - (103) (1) Ele não foi a lugar nenhum.
- (104) (2) Ele não foi a lugar algum.
- s - (105) (2) Ele não viu ninguém.
- (106) (1) Ele não viu pessoa alguma.
- t - (107) (2) Eu queria falar com vocês, mas não os vi.
- (108) (1) Eu queria falar com vocês, mas não vi vocês.

IV. Examine os conjuntos de frases abaixo e dê nota 1 à mais típica de linguagem bem cuidada e assim por diante em escala ascendente até chegar à frase mais comum.

('Examine the sets of sentences below and assign 1 to the sentence which is most typical of careful language, and so on, on an ascending scale, until you come to the most common sentence.')

- a - (109) (2) Ele não veio de forma nenhuma.
- (110) (3) Ele não veio não.
- (111) (1) Ele não veio de forma alguma.
- b - (112) (3) Ele nem se manifestou.
- (113) (1) Ele tampouco se manifestou.
- (114) (2) Ele sequer se manifestou.
- c - (115) (4) Ninguém disse nada.
- (116) (2) Ninguém disse coisa alguma.
- (117) (1) Pessoa alguma disse coisa alguma.
- (118) (3) Ninguém disse coisa nenhuma.
- d - (119) (3) Ele não concordou de forma alguma.
- (120) (1) Ele de forma alguma concordou.

- (121) (2) Ele não concordou de forma nenhuma.
- e - (122) (3) Ele não concordou não.
- (123) (1) Ele não concordou.
- (124) (2) Ele concordou não.
- f - (125) (1) Eu não o vi na festa.
- (126) (2) Eu não vi você na festa.
- (127) (3) Eu não te vi na festa.
- g - (128) (4) Ele não disse nada que convencesse.
- (129) (2) Ele não disse coisa alguma que convencesse.
- (130) (3) Ele nada disse que convencesse.
- (131) (1) Coisa alguma ele disse que convencesse.
- h - (132) (4) Ele não veio aqui nunca.
- (133) (1) Ele jamais veio aqui.
- (134) (2) Ele nunca veio aqui.
- (135) (3) Ele não veio aqui jamais.
- i - (136) (2) Ninguém disse coisa alguma que convencesse.
- (137) (1) Pessoa alguma disse coisa alguma que convencesse.
- (138) (3) Ninguém disse nada que convencesse.
- j - (139) (3) Ninguém veio.
- (140) (4) Não veio ninguém.
- (141) (2) Não veio pessoa alguma.
- (142) (1) Pessoa alguma veio.
- k - (143) (2) Eu queria falar com você mas não a vi.
- (144) (1) Eu queria falar-lhe mas não a vi.
- (145) (3) Eu queria falar-lhe mas não te vi.
- (146) (4) Eu queria falar com você mas não te vi.

V. Examine o conjunto de frases abaixo e atribua nota 1 à que você julgar mais freqüente, e assim por diante até a menos freqüente.

('Examine the set of sentences below and assign 1 to the sentence you consider to be the most frequently used, and so on until you come to the least frequent of all.')

- (147) (2) Esta cadeira está quebrada. Eu ainda não pude consertar.
- (148) (3) Esta cadeira está quebrada. Eu ainda não pude consertá-la.
- (149) (1) Esta cadeira está quebrada. Eu ainda não pude consertar ela.

- VI. Opine sobre o sentido da frase numerada, indicando com um 'x' a interpretação que lhe parece mais adequada. Decida de acordo com a sua primeira impressão.

('Express your opinion on the meaning of the numbered sentences by indicating with an 'x' the interpretation which seems adequate. Decide this on your first impression.')

- a - Mano, eu vim no meu carro e Carlos veio no seu jipe.
De quem é o jipe?
- (150) () De Carlos.
- (151) (x) Do mano.
- b - Estudantes, o governo não tem condições para solucionar todos os seus problemas.
De quem são os problemas?
- (152) (x) Do governo.
- (153) () Dos estudantes.
- c - O chefe da expedição não ficou satisfeito com o seu trabalho.
O trabalho é de quem?
- (154) () Do chefe da expedição.
- (155) (x) Da pessoa a quem a frase é dirigida.
- d - Faz tempo que não o vejo.
Como você entende a frase?
- (156) () Faz tempo que não te vejo.
- (157) (x) Faz tempo que não vejo ele.

- VII. Coloque um '+' ao lado da(s) frase(s) positiva(s) e um '-' ao lado da(s) frase(s) negativa(s). Use 'N' para frases não-aceitáveis.

('Write '+' beside the positive sentence(s) and '-' beside the negative one(s). Use 'N' for unacceptable sentences.')

- a - (158) (+) Ele de forma alguma veio.
- (159) (N) Ele de alguma forma veio.
- (160) (+) Ele de forma nenhuma veio.
- (161) (+) Ele não veio de forma nenhuma.
- (162) (+) Ele não veio de forma alguma.
- b - (163) (+) Ele veio coisa nenhuma.
- (164) (+) Ele veio não.

- (165) (+) Ele veio nada.
- (166) (+) Ele veio coisa alguma.
- c - (167) (+) Coisa alguma fez ele em favor dos estudantes.
- (168) (+) Alguma coisa ele fez em favor dos estudantes.
- d - (169) (+) Nada fez ele em favor dos estudantes.
- (170) (+) Ele não fez nada em favor dos estudantes.
- (171) (+) Ele nada fez em favor dos estudantes.
- e - (172) (+) Ninguém comparecerá àquele tipo de reunião.
- (173) (+) Pessoa alguma comparecerá àquele tipo de reunião.
- f - (174) (+) Jamais alguém apareceu para protestar.
- (175) (+) Alguém mais já apareceu para protestar.
- g - (176) (+) Ele tampouco olhou para mim.
- (177) (-) Ele sequer olhou para mim.
- h - (178) (+) Ele em tempo algum apareceu.
- (179) (+) Ele jamais apareceu.
- i - (180) (+) Ele não tem nenhum interesse no negócio.
- (181) (+) Ele não tem qualquer interesse no negócio.
- (182) (+) Ele não tem interesse algum no negócio.
- (183) (-) Algum interesse ele tem no negócio.
- (184) (+) Interesse algum tem ele no negócio.

VIII. Examine as frases abaixo e reescreva as que, na sua opinião, podem ser alteradas para melhor, de forma a atender as exigências da linguagem correta e elegante.

('Examine the sentences below and rewrite the ones which, in your opinion, could be changed for the better, so that they would meet the requirements for correction and elegance.')

- a - Pessoa alguma nunca desvendou o grande mistério.
Pessoa alguma jamais desvendou o grande mistério.
Ninguém nunca desvendou o grande mistério.
Nunca pessoa alguma desvendou o grande mistério.
Ninguém jamais desvendou o grande mistério.
- b - Ninguém não disse nada que prestasse.
Ninguém disse nada que prestasse.
Ninguém disse coisa alguma que prestasse.
- c - Jamais alguém disse nada.
Jamais alguém disse coisa alguma.

- d - Não apareceu ninguém.
Pessoa alguma apareceu.
Ninguém apareceu.
Não apareceu pessoa alguma.

IX. Você está familiarizado com as frases que se seguem? Se está, que tipo de pessoa as usa e em que situações? Se não está, por que elas lhe parecem estranhas? Dê sua opinião escolhendo uma das sugestões abaixo:

('Are you familiar with the sentences that follow? If you are, what kind of people use them, and in what situations? If you are not, why do they seem strange to you? Express your opinion by choosing one of the suggestions below:')

1. Nunca ouvi nenhum brasileiro, seja ele instruído ou sem instrução, da cidade ou do interior, usar esta frase.

('I have never heard any Brazilian, educated or uneducated, townsman or peasant, use this sentence.')

2. Esta é uma frase normal e coerente. Mas só é usada por pessoas de pouca ou nenhuma instrução.

('This is a normal and coherent sentence. But it is only used by people with little or no education.')

3. Esta é uma frase incoerente: é como se começasse em uma situação de fala e terminasse em outra.

('This is an incoherent sentence; it is as if it started in one speech situation and ended in another.')

4. Esta frase pode ocorrer na fala de pessoas instruídas.

('This sentence can occur in the speech of educated people.')

(185) (4) Jamais pessoa alguma foi tão legal comigo como aquele cara.

(186) (2) Ninguém não o viu na festa.

(187) (4) Ninguém viu ele na festa.

(188) (2) Ninguém não viu ele na festa.

(189) (2) Ninguém não falou com nós.

(190) (4) Ninguém falou conosco.

(191) (2) Ninguém não falou conosco.

- (192) (2) Ninguém não disse a mim que vai voltar.
- (193) (2) Ninguém não me disse que vai voltar.
- (194) (4) Ninguém nos disse que vai voltar.
- (195) (4) Ninguém me disse que vai voltar.
- (196) (4) Ninguém não disse a nós que vai voltar.
- (197) (4) Ninguém não nos disse que vai voltar.
- (198) (4) Ele não disse nada.
- (199) (3) Ele disse nada não.
- (200) (1) Ele nem não viu eu.
- (201) (1) Ele nem não me viu.
- (202) (4) Ele nem me viu.
- (203) (2) Ele nunca não falou com nós.
- (204) (2) Ele nunca não falou conosco.
- (205) (4) Ele nunca falou conosco.
- (206) (1) Eu não convidei ele nada não.
- (207) (1) Eu não o convidei nada não.
- (208) (2) Pessoa alguma entende ele.
- (209) (2) Ele não viu eu não.
- (210) (4) Ele não me viu não.
- (211) (2) Ele não viu nós não.
- (212) (4) Ele não nos viu não.
- (213) (4) Ele não viu a gente não.

X. Qual a frase que representa melhor a linguagem escrita e formal? Atribua nota 1 à melhor representante em cada conjunto, e proceda em escala ascendente até chegar à menos representativa. No caso de frase não-aceitável, use 'N'.

('Which sentence best represents formal written language? Assign '1' to the best representative in each set, and proceed along an ascending scale, until you come to the least representative example. Use 'N' for unacceptable sentences.')

- a - (214) (3) Os rapazes nunca revelaram os segredos deles a ninguém.
- (215) (1) Os rapazes nunca revelaram seus segredos a pessoa alguma.
- (216) (2) Os rapazes jamais revelaram seus segredos a pessoa alguma.
- (217) (4) Os rapazes jamais revelaram os segredos deles a pessoa alguma.

- b - (218) (3) Moços, jamais vi vocês tão desencorajados.
- (219) (2) Moços, nunca vi vocês tão desencorajados.
- (220) (1) Moços, jamais os vi tão desencorajados.
- c - (221) (1) Maria, por onde você anda que ninguém a vê?
- (222) (4) Maria, por onde você anda que ninguém te vê?
- (223) (3) Maria, por onde você anda que pessoa alguma a vê?
- (224) (2) Maria, por onde você anda que ninguém vê você?
- d - (225) (1) Carlos não revelou sua história a pessoa alguma.
- (226) (2) Carlos não revelou a história dele a ninguém.
- (227) (3) Carlos não revelou a história dele a pessoa alguma.
- e - (228) (3) Meninos, o destino de vocês está traçado e nada vai mudar ele.
- (229) (1) Meninos, seu destino está traçado e coisa alguma o mudará.
- (230) (2) Meninos, seu destino está traçado e nada o mudará.

XI. Examine os pares de frases abaixo e coloque um '+' ao lado da frase mais satisfatória do par e um '-' ao lado da menos satisfatória. Use o sinal '+' para ambas as frases caso você as considere igualmente satisfatórias, e o sinal '-' diante das duas frases, se elas lhe parecerem igualmente não-satisfatórias.

('Examine the pairs of sentences below and write '+' beside the more satisfactory member of the pair. Use the '+' sign for both sentences, if you consider them equally satisfactory, and the '-' sign against the two, if you find that they look equally unsatisfactory.'))

- a - (231) (+) Ninguém veio não.
- (232) (+) Ninguém veio.
- b - (233) (+) Pessoa alguma veio.
- (234) (-) Pessoa alguma veio não.
- c - (235) (+) Ninguém veio não.
- (236) (-) Pessoa alguma veio não.
- d - (237) (+) Ninguém veio.
- (238) (+) Pessoa alguma veio.
- e - (239) (+) Pessoa alguma veio.
- (240) (-) Pessoa alguma não veio.
- f - (241) (+) Ele não fez nada não.
- (242) (+) Ele não fez nada.
- (243) (+) Ele não fez coisa alguma não.

- (244) (+) Ele não fez coisa alguma.
- h - (245) (+) Ele não viu ninguém não.
- (246) (+) Ele não viu ninguém.
- i - (247) (+) Ele não viu pessoa alguma.
- (248) (+) Ele não viu pessoa alguma não.
- j - (249) (-) Pessoa alguma fez coisa alguma não.
- (250) (+) Pessoa alguma fez coisa alguma.
- k - (251) (+) Ninguém fez nada não.
- (252) (+) Ninguém fez nada.
- l - (253) (+) Ninguém não disse nada.
- (254) (+) Ninguém disse nada.

XII. Examine os conjuntos de frases abaixo e dê a sua opinião, atribuindo nota 1 à mais aceitável de cada conjunto, e assim por diante até a menos aceitável. Use 'N' para indicar frases não-aceitáveis. Você tem ampla liberdade para repetir o mesmo número, se achar necessário.

('Examine the sets of sentences below and express your opinion by assigning '1' to the most acceptable member of each set, and so on, until you come to the least acceptable of all. You are entirely free to repeat marks, if you find it necessary.')

- a - (225) (1) Ele nem olhou para mim.
- (256) (2) Ele nem não olhou para mim.
- b - (257) (3) Ele não olhou nunca para mim.
- (258) (2) Ele não olhou para mim nunca.
- (259) (4) Ele nunca não olhou para mim.
- (260) (1) Ele nunca olhou para mim.
- c - (261) (2) Ninguém não fez o teste.
- (262) (1) Ninguém fez o teste.
- d - (263) (2) Ninguém não veio.
- (264) (1) Ninguém veio.
- (265) (1) Ninguém veio não.
- (266) (3) Ninguém não veio não.
- e - (267) (2) Ninguém não disse nada.
- (268) (3) Ninguém não fez o teste.
- (269) (1) Ninguém não veio.
- f - (270) (1) Ele disse que não voltará nunca.
- (271) (1) Ele disse que nunca voltará.

XIII. Dê sua opinião quanto ao grau de ênfase negativa contida nas frases abaixo, atribuindo nota 1 à frase negativa mais enérgica e assim por diante até a menos enérgica.

('Express your opinion as to the degree of negative emphasis contained in the sentences below, by assigning mark 1 to the most vigorous utterance, and so on, down to the least vigorous of all.'))

- (272) (5) Ele não veio.
- (273) (1) Ele não veio não.
- (274) (2) Ele não veio coisa nenhuma.
- (275) (6) Ele não veio nada.
- (276) (4) Ele não veio nada não.
- (277) (7) Ele veio não.
- (278) (3) Ele não veio coisa alguma.

XIV. Indique com um '+' a melhor frase de cada par e, se a frase que restar for não-aceitável, coloque o sinal 'N' ao lado dela.

('Write '+' beside the nicer sentence in each pair. If the sentence left out is not acceptable, write 'N' beside it.'))

- a - (279) (N) Ele veio aqui nunca.
(280) (+) Ele não veio aqui nunca.
- b - (281) (+) Ele não fez nada.
(282) (N) Ele fez nada.
- c - (283) (N) Ele foi a lugar nenhum.
(284) (+) Ele não foi a lugar nenhum.
- d - (285) (N) Quais as questões que ele fez? Fez nenhuma.
(286) (+) Quais as questões que ele fez? Não fez nenhuma.
- e - (287) () Carlos veio à aula? Veio não.
(288) (+) Carlos veio à aula? Não veio não.
- f - (289) (N) Veio ninguém à reunião.
(290) (+) Não veio ninguém à reunião.
- g - (291) (N) Veio alguém à reunião? Veio ninguém.
(292) (+) Veio alguém à reunião? Não veio ninguém.
- h - (293) (N) Ele viu ninguém lá.
(294) (+) Ele não viu ninguém lá.
- i - (295) (+) Ele não veio nada.
(296) () Ele veio nada.

- j - (297) (+) O rapaz levou a mercadoria? Levou nada.
 (298) () O rapaz levou a mercadoria? Não levou nada.

XV. Examine os pares de frases abaixo e indique com um '0' a frase que soa pior. Se você julgar ambas as frases igualmente desagradáveis, coloque o sinal '0' ao lado das duas. Se ambas parecerem igualmente agradáveis, coloque 1 nos parênteses ao lado de cada uma.

('Examine the pairs of sentences below and write '0' (= zero) beside the sentence that sounds worse. If you think that the two members of the pair are equally displeasing, write '0' beside either. If they look equally pleasing, write '1' in the brackets provided beside each of them.')

- a - (299) (0) Ele falou com ocê que ele não é mais candidato?
 (300) (0) Ele falou com ocês que ele não é mais candidato?
- b - (301) (0) Pedro deu eu um pouco de feijão.
 (302) (1) Pedro deu a mim um pouco de feijão.
- c - (303) (0) Pedro deu nós um pouco de feijão.
 (304) (1) Pedro deu a nós um pouco de feijão.
- d - (305) (0) Pedro deu eu um pouco de feijão.
 (306) (0) Pedro deu nós um pouco de feijão.
- e - (307) (0) Eu disse ele que eu não vendo fiado.
 (308) (1) Eu disse a ele que eu não vendo fiado.
- f - (309) (0) O Pedro levou eu lá na vila.
 (310) (0) O Pedro levou nós lá na vila.
- g - (311) (0) Ele deu ocê o dinheiro?
 (312) (0) Ele deu a ocê o dinheiro?
- h - (313) (0) Ele trabalha na roça de eu.
 (314) (0) Ele trabalha na roça de nós.
- i - (315) (0) Ele veio no jipe d'ocê.
 (316) (0) Ele veio no jipe d'ocês.
- j - (317) (0) Ele veio no jipe de você.
 (318) (1) Ele veio no jipe de vocês.
- k - (319) (0) Ele veio no jipe de você.
 (320) (0) Ele veio no jipe d'ocê.
- l - (321) (0) Ele falou com nós que ele não é mais candidato.
 (322) (0) Ele falou com eu que ele não é mais candidato.

XVI. Coloque o número '1' ao lado da frase que você considerar comum, '2' ao lado da que você julgar não muito comum, e 'N' diante da que lhe parecer não-aceitável.

('Write '1' beside the sentence you regard as common, '2' beside the one you think is not very common, and 'N' in front of the sentence that looks not acceptable.')

- a - (323) (N) Ele veio aqui nunca.
- (324) (N) Ele veio aqui nunca não.
- b - (325) (N) Ele fez nada.
- (326) (N) Ele fez nada não.
- c - (327) (N) Ele foi a lugar nenhum.
- (328) (N) Ele foi a lugar nenhum não.
- d - (329) (N) Ele viu ninguém lá.
- (330) (N) Ele viu ninguém lá não.

Dados sobre o informante:

('Informant's personal data')

Name:

Age:

Place of birth:

Occupation, if any:

Father's occupation (or mother's, or tutor's):

2. Appendix to the questionnaire

- I. Expresse sua opinião sobre as frases abaixo, atribuindo-lhes uma nota de acordo com a escala que se segue.

('Express your opinion on the utterances below by assigning a mark in accordance with the following scale:')

- 1 - Plenamente satisfatória.
('Fully satisfactory'.)
- 2 - Mais ou menos satisfatória.
('More or less satisfactory'.)
- 0 - Não satisfatória.
('Not satisfactory'.)
-
- a - (1) (2) Ele não revelou coisa alguma a pessoa alguma jamais em lugar algum.
- (2) (1) Ele não revelou nada a ninguém nunca em lugar nenhum.
- b - (3) (2) Ele não revelou nada a ninguém nunca em lugar algum.
- (4) (1) Ele não revelou nada a pessoa alguma nunca em lugar nenhum.
- c - (5) (1) Ele não revelou nada a ninguém jamais em lugar algum.
- (6) (2) Ele não revelou nada a pessoa alguma nunca em lugar nenhum.
- d - (7) (2) Ele não revelou coisa alguma a pessoa alguma jamais em lugar algum.
- e - (8) (2) Ele não revelou nada a pessoa alguma jamais em lugar algum.
- (9) (1) Ele não revelou coisa alguma a ninguém nunca em lugar nenhum.
- f - (10) (1) Ele não revelou nada a ninguém nunca em lugar nenhum.
- (11) (2) Ele não revelou coisa alguma a ninguém jamais em lugar nenhum.
- g - (12) (1) Ele não revelou a ninguém coisa alguma jamais em lugar algum.
- (13) (1) Ele não revelou a ninguém coisa alguma jamais em lugar nenhum.
- h - (14) (2) A pessoa alguma revelou ele coisa alguma jamais em lugar algum.
- (15) (2) A pessoa alguma revelou ele nada nunca em lugar nenhum.

II. Qual a frase que soa pior? Faça um círculo em torno do número que corresponde à frase de sua escolha.

('Which utterance sounds worst? Draw a circle around the number that corresponds to the utterance of your choice.')

- a - (16) 1. Nunca ele disse nada que impressionasse.
(17) 2. Nunca ele disse coisa alguma que impressionasse.
(18) ③ Ele jamais disse nada que impressionasse.
- b - (19) 1. Ele nunca disse nada que impressionasse.
(20) 2. Ele nunca disse coisa alguma que impressionasse.
(21) ③ Ele jamais disse nada que impressionasse.
- c - (22) 1. Ninguém nem se interessou pela matéria.
(23) 2. Ninguém tampouco se interessou pela matéria.
(24) ③ Pessoa alguma nem se interessou pela matéria.
- d - (25) 1. Nunca ninguém ousou protestar.
(26) ② Nunca pessoa alguma ousou protestar.
(27) 3. Jamais ninguém ousou protestar.
(28) 4. Jamais alguém ousou protestar.
- e - (29) ① Pessoa alguma disse nada que impressionasse.
(30) 2. Ninguém disse nada que impressionasse.
(31) 3. Ninguém disse coisa alguma que impressionasse.
- f - (32) ① Conferencista algum disse nada que impressionasse.
(33) 2. Conferencista algum disse coisa alguma que impressionasse.
- g - (34) 1. Ele nunca nem protestou.
(35) 2. Ele nunca tampouco protestou.
(36) ③ Ele jamais nem protestou.
- h - (37) 1. Nada fez ninguém em favor da educação.
(38) 2. Nada fez pessoa alguma em favor da educação.
(39) ③ Coisa alguma fez ninguém em favor da educação.

III. Qual a frase mais formal? Faça um círculo em torno do número que corresponde à frase de sua escolha.

('Which is the most formal utterance? Draw a circle around the number that corresponds to the utterance of your choice.')

- a - (40) ① Ninguém nem olhou para ele.
(41) 2. Ninguém tampouco olhou para ele.
(42) 3. Pessoa alguma tampouco olhou para ele.

- b - (43) ①. Ninguém jamais olhou para ele.
(44) 2. Pessoa alguma jamais olhou para ele.
(45) 3. Ninguém nunca olhou para ele.

3. TABLES SHOWING TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE,
AS IN APPENDIX 1

SECTION I

	1 to 26			
	1	2	N	NA
1	40	8	0	0
2	12	25	11	0
3	12	29	6	1
4	3	6	39	0
5	14	21	12	1
6	42	5	0	1
7	36	9	3	0
8	2	20	25	1
9	2	2	44	0
10	31	15	2	0
11	42	6	0	0
12	14	18	14	2
13	3	17	28	0
14	2	15	29	2
15	45	3	0	0
16	12	19	14	3
17	46	2	0	0
18	6	19	23	0
19	44	4	0	0
20	11	20	16	1
21	33	13	2	0
22	7	21	20	0
23	42	6	0	0
24	18	21	9	0
25	14	22	11	1
26	7	17	24	0

1 = Fully acceptable
2 = More or less acceptable
N = Not acceptable
NA = No answer

SECTION II

	27 to 68			
	+	-	N	NA
27	4	36	8	0
28	40	5	3	0
29	24	19	5	0
30	16	28	4	0
31	16	27	5	0
32	22	23	3	0
33	14	25	6	3
34	18	23	5	2
35	48	0	0	0
36	45	3	0	0
37	15	28	5	0
38	6	31	11	0
39	12	29	6	1
40	41	5	2	0
41	47	1	0	0
42	48	0	0	0
43	32	15	1	0
44	11	33	4	0
45	47	1	0	0
46	6	32	10	0
47	41	6	0	1
48	19	21	7	1
49	4	31	13	0
50	42	4	1	1
51	34	13	0	1
52	44	4	0	0
53	45	3	0	0
54	29	15	4	0

+ = More satisfactory
- = Less satisfactory
N = Not acceptable
NA = No answer.

SECTION II (cont.)

	27 to 68			
	+	-	N	NA
55	43	5	0	0
56	17	26	4	1
57	23	23	2	0
58	19	24	4	1
59	26	20	2	0
60	37	9	2	0
61	23	22	3	0
62	31	15	1	1
63	34	13	1	0
64	36	11	1	0
65	28	19	0	1
66	37	10	0	1
67	6	28	14	0
68	18	23	7	0

+ = More satisfactory
 - = Less satisfactory
 N = Not acceptable
 NA = No answer

SECTION III

	69 to 108			
	1	2	N	NA
69	8	40	0	0
70	38	10	0	0
71	19	29	0	0
72	33	15	0	0
73	36	12	0	0
74	10	37	0	1
75	10	38	0	0
76	37	11	0	0
77	12	36	0	0
78	35	13	0	0
79	6	42	0	0
80	43	5	0	0
81	19	29	0	0
82	31	17	0	0
83	21	27	0	0
84	28	20	0	0
85	13	35	0	0
86	36	12	0	0
87	39	9	0	0
88	11	37	0	0
89	40	7	0	1
90	8	39	0	1
91	14	34	0	0
92	35	13	0	0
93	17	31	0	0
94	33	15	0	0
95	26	22	0	0
96	24	24	0	0

1 = Typical of public address
 2 = Ordinary language
 N = Not acceptable
 NA = No answer

SECTION III (cont.)

69 to 108				
	1	2	N	NA
97	21	27	0	0
98	28	17	2	1
99	9	39	0	0
100	40	8	0	0
101	11	37	0	0
102	37	11	0	0
103	15	33	0	0
104	33	15	0	0
105	14	34	0	0
106	34	14	0	0
107	45	3	0	0
108	4	44	0	0

1 = Typical of public address
2 = Ordinary language
N = Not acceptable
NA = No answer

SECTION IV

109 to 146					
	1	2	3	4	NA
109	9	32	6	0	1
110	3	5	37	0	3
111	35	9	1	0	3
112	12	6	28	0	2
113	14	19	12	0	3
114	22	19	4	0	3
115	17	7	3	19	2
116	23	17	4	1	3
117	8	11	10	14	5
118	2	9	28	6	3
119	16	24	6	0	2
120	26	9	10	0	3
121	7	10	28	1	2
122	2	27	17	0	2
123	45	1	1	0	1
124	1	15	27	1	4
125	43	2	2	0	1
126	3	20	22	0	3
127	5	21	20	0	2
128	11	10	4	21	2
129	11	11	20	4	2
130	18	14	12	1	2
131	11	10	8	16	3
132	2	6	17	19	4
133	29	12	4	0	3
134	15	14	10	8	2
135	5	13	12	14	3
136	21	23	2	0	2

1 = Most typical of careful language
2, 3, 4 = Gradually less typical
NA = No answer

SECTION IV (cont.)

	109 to 146				
	1	2	3	4	NA
137	9	14	22	0	3
138	19	8	20	0	1
139	19	12	9	7	1
140	10	12	11	12	3
141	8	14	16	7	3
142	16	6	7	16	3
143	15	19	6	5	3
144	29	11	5	1	2
145	0	12	23	9	4
146	6	3	12	25	2

1 = Most typical of careful language
2, 3, 4 = Gradually less typical
NA = No answer

SECTION V

	147 to 149			
	1	2	3	NA
147	20	23	2	3
148	15	6	25	1
149	13	15	16	3

1 = Most frequent
2, 3 = Gradually less frequent
NA = No answer

SECTION VI

	150 to 157		
	X	B	NA
150	18	30	0
151	30	18	1
152	13	35	1
153	35	13	0
154	13	35	0
155	35	13	0
156	17	31	0
157	31	17	0

X = Choice taken
B = Left blank
NA = No answer

SECTION VII

SECTION VIII

Rewriting test reported on pages
259, 271.

158 to 184				
	+	-	N	NA
158	15	28	3	2
159	35	5	7	1
160	12	31	4	1
161	16	26	4	2
162	21	24	1	2
163	13	25	8	2
164	7	28	12	1
165	6	30	11	1
166	10	30	7	1
167	13	33	1	1
168	46	1	0	1
169	18	29	1	0
170	20	27	1	0
171	25	22	0	1
172	26	21	0	1
173	23	23	0	2
174	25	22	0	1
175	24	9	3	2
176	22	24	1	1
177	19	26	1	2
178	17	30	11	1
179	23	23	0	2
180	20	26	0	2
181	21	24	0	3
182	21	24	0	3
183	38	4	3	3
184	16	25	4	3

+ = Positive meaning
 - = Negative meaning
 N = Not acceptable
 NA = No answer

SECTION IX

	185 to 213				
	1	2	3	4	NA
185	1	8	9	25	5
186	5	11	8	17	7
187	0	27	1	16	4
188	1	35	3	6	3
189	7	35	1	2	3
190	1	1	0	43	3
191	4	25	8	4	7
192	12	18	4	8	6
193	4	22	8	9	5
194	0	9	2	32	5
195	4	4	5	30	5
196	1	30	3	7	7
197	3	9	11	20	5
198	0	2	0	39	7
199	3	33	4	3	5
200	24	13	4	0	7
201	24	13	6	0	5
202	0	6	0	35	7
203	10	25	6	0	7
204	11	16	10	5	6
205	0	0	1	42	5
206	12	21	8	2	5
207	11	14	16	2	5
208	0	17	7	19	5
209	2	37	4	0	5
210	0	17	3	23	5
211	2	35	3	3	5
212	1	8	5	29	5
213	1	20	2	20	5

1 = Un-Portuguese
2 = Uneducated
3 = Incongruent
4 = Likely to occur in educated
speech
NA = No answer

SECTION X

214 to 230						
	1	2	3	4	N	NA
214	6	5	15	16	0	6
215	14	17	9	0	1	7
216	26	11	2	2	0	7
217	0	7	13	18	2	8
218	0	30	10	0	0	8
219	1	11	27	0	2	7
220	43	1	0	0	0	4
221	19	16	4	1	1	7
222	5	8	11	15	2	7
223	18	11	9	3	2	5
224	1	5	15	18	0	9
225	28	8	4	0	1	7
226	13	13	17	0	0	5
227	2	21	17	0	1	7
228	2	1	37	0	2	6
229	20	22	0	0	1	5
230	21	18	2	0	1	6

1 = Most representative sample of
formal written language
2, 3, 4 = gradually less representative
N = Not acceptable
NA = No answer

SECTION XI

	231 to 254		
	+	-	NA
231	4	39	5
232	44	0	4
233	43	1	4
234	2	41	5
235	18	26	4
236	5	38	5
237	41	3	4
238	29	14	5
239	37	7	4
240	5	38	5
241	17	26	5
242	41	1	6
243	8	36	4
244	43	0	5
245	13	30	5
246	44	0	4
247	42	2	4
248	6	37	5
249	2	40	6
250	29	14	5
251	13	30	5
252	43	1	4
253	11	31	5
254	43	1	4

+ = More satisfactory
- = Less satisfactory
NA = No answer

SECTION XII

255 to 271						
	1	2	3	4	N	NA
255	42	1	0	0	0	5
256	2	14	0	0	27	5
257	3	16	17	1	4	7
258	2	21	12	3	4	6
259	2	2	6	14	18	6
260	40	1	1	0	0	6
261	1	29	0	0	12	6
262	43	0	0	0	0	5
263	2	20	10	3	6	7
264	43	0	0	0	0	5
265	4	14	14	4	5	7
266	0	3	10	16	12	7
267	11	8	9	2	13	5
268	11	10	3	2	15	5
269	16	5	6	2	13	6
270	6	31	1	0	4	6
271	41	2	0	0	0	5

1 = Most acceptable
2, 3, 4 = Gradually less acceptable
N = Not acceptable
NA = No answer

SECTION XIII

272 to 278								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NA
272	8	4	4	3	5	11	7	6
273	6	6	10	9	7	2	0	8
274	17	14	6	2	1	0	0	8
275	2	3	8	11	11	1	3	8
276	9	2	9	2	9	7	2	8
277	2	3	1	3	3	14	14	8
278	9	10	5	7	4	5	1	7

1 = Most emphatic negative

2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 = Gradually less emphatic

NA = No answer.

SECTION XIV

279 to 298				
	+	B	N	NA
279	2	10	31	5
280	40	0	2	6
281	40	1	1	6
282	4	21	17	6
283	6	19	16	7
284	36	4	0	8
285	5	19	16	8
286	36	3	2	7
287	10	20	9	9
288	33	4	4	7
289	2	20	19	7
290	38	0	1	9
291	4	21	16	7
292	38	0	2	8
293	2	18	23	5
294	39	0	1	8
295	37	2	1	8
296	6	23	13	6
297	24	10	6	8
298	21	16	4	7

+ = Better of the pair
B = Left blank
N = Not acceptable
NA = No answer

SECTION XV

299 to 322				
	0	B	1	NA
299	35	1	6	6
300	36	0	7	5
301	42	1	0	5
302	5	10	27	6
303	40	1	1	6
304	5	10	28	5
305	40	1	2	5
306	37	1	4	6
307	38	1	4	5
308	5	10	28	5
309	29	2	12	5
310	23	4	16	5
311	38	1	4	5
312	31	4	8	5
313	42	0	1	5
314	34	4	5	5
315	34	1	8	5
316	33	1	8	6
317	28	2	13	5
318	11	4	28	5
319	25	6	11	6
320	38	1	4	5
321	24	7	12	5
322	38	1	4	5

0 = More unpleasant of the pair
B = Left blank
1 = More pleasant of the pair
NA = No answer

SECTION XVI

323 to 330				
	1	2	N	NA
323	5	25	12	5
324	8	8	25	6
325	17	20	6	4
326	17	20	5	5
327	28	10	5	4
328	8	26	8	5
329	14	18	9	6
330	12	19	9	8

1 = Common
 2 = Not very common
 N = Not acceptable
 NA = No answer

4. Data.

RECORDED PILOT WORK: (RPW)

RPW II - 1:

1. Nós não sabemos nada.
2. Já nao temos ninguem.

RPW II - 2:

1. O aval dele.
2. Esse aqui é o envelope dele.
3. O discurso dele.
4. Tem que ser em nome dela.
5. E eu fiquei sabendo que a Maria está muito animada com a tese dela.
6. Que desenvolva a contento dela.
7. Fui na casa dela.
8. Ela trouxe a transferência dela.
9. Mandou fazer uma bandeira e botou na casa dele.
10. As fábulas dele são bem interessantes.

RPW II - 3 (D.O. ϕ):

1. São muito boas as fábulas, não sei se você conhece -.
2. Eu bati o currículo todo direitinho e mandei -.
3. Ele até achou umas redes bonitas e trouxe.-.
4. Já panhei -. Cê pagou? Paguei -.

RPW II - 4 (a 3rd person):

1. Agora também no domingo eu a vi na igreja de manhã.
2. Onde passou-as?

RPW II - 5:

1. Deixa ele aí dentro.
2. É pertinho, mas cê num encontra ele fácil não.
3. Como é que cê encontrou ele lá?
4. Peguei ela em muitos grau.
5. Eu tentava ele todo dia, né?
6. Chama ele aí.
7. Nao vou deixar ele criar meu filho não.

RPW II - 6 (a 2nd person):

1. Apesar de eu não conhecê-la ...
2. Esperamos revê-la logo.
3. Maria, querida, espero ter contribuído de alguma forma para ajudá la no seu trabalho.

RPW II - 7 (os 3rd person):

1. Claro que vou criá-los num ambiente de harmonia, e paz ...

RPW II - 8:

1. ...para pedir a ele a nomeação.
2. Que bom que você se lembrasse de oferecer a ela essa carona.

RPW II - 9:

1. Não falou nem uma vez.
2. A gente não pode nem conversar aqui.
3. Eu não posso nem dizer.

RPW II - 10:

1. Depois ela tem que mandar nos falar como é que foi isso.

RPW II - 11:

1. Uma e meia uma menina lá de cima vai descer pra apanhar vocês.
2. Ela vai tá lá pra ajudar vocês.

RPW II - 12:

1. Quando você precisar de dinheiro, essa gente toda te empresta.
2. Eu que te entreguei. Vai sobrar dinheiro seu na Caixa Econômica.
3. Alô, Maria, tô testando pra te mandar, eu não sei se você vai gostar.

RPW II - 13:

1. Pegou já o Moraes, não vai pegar.

RPW II - 14:

1. Passou meia hora não.
2. Vai não, meu filho.
3. Então isso vai ficar com você não.

RPW II - 15:

1. Mas não foi esse termo que ele usou não.
2. Não dá não.
3. Não dá não?
4. Não podemos sair catando não.
5. Agora não dá pra sair pra ir lá não.
6. Não tem ainda equipe não.
7. Cê vai a Colatina? Eu não ia não.
8. Não tem pátio não.
9. Isso não vai ser problema não.
10. Já ligou sim. Não liguei ainda não.

RPW II - 16:

1. Mas não falo.
2. Eu ainda não aprendi isso até hoje.
3. Eu tava pensando em ir no Pico. Mas não consegui.
4. Eu ia esta semana mas não deu.
5. Se pode virar pra lâmpada, por que não pode virar pra livro de volta?

RPW II - 17:

1. Não vou a lugar nenhum.

RPW II - 18:

1. Não dá continuidade a trabalho nenhum.
2. Não vou ensinar merda nenhuma.

RPW II - 19:

1. Eu não como nada no caminho não.
2. Não quero fazer papel de besta com ninguém não.

RPW II - 20:

1. Ela é tão quietinha, tão humilde que ninguém nem descobre que ela existe.

RPW II - 21:

1. Ninguém se sacrifica.

RPW II - 22:

1. Eu nunca desejei trabalhar em cargos administrativos.

RPW II - 23:

1. Pedro veio me pedir pra ficar na sua casa.
2. Como é que você me vê?
3. Me diz agora, me explica.

RPW II - 24:

1. Te vemos.
2. Eu que te entreguei.
3. É, Ithobal vai te dar o dinheiro.
4. Te vejo assim, sei lá.

RPW II - 25:

1. Ter que trabalhar sem ter dinheiro.

RPW II - 26: (seu 2nd person):

1. E isso veio facilitar o seu trabalho ai?
2. Espero ter contribuído de alguma forma para ajudá-la no seu trabalho.

RPW II - 27 (seu 3rd person):

1. Para que os alunos tenham uma visão de conjunto e saibam encaminhar os seus problemas, resolvê-los.

RPW II - 28:

1. Ela falou pra depois a gente vir aqui pro sítio.
2. No princípio a gente nao deve logo tã dando aula bíblica não.

RPW II - 29:

1. Nós já gastamo 40 milhões nessa brincadeira.
2. Nós não queremos um tostão de lucro.
3. Não é aquela que nós fomos em Paris?

RPW II - 30:

1. Um grande abraço para você. Que volte breve, mas que faça tudo que lhe é possível fazer.

RPW IV - 1:

1. Cada um dá o seu trabalho e ninguém sacrifica.

RPW IV - 2:

1. Passando pra outra casa em vez de desmanchar ela.

RPW IV - 3:

1. A geladeira vai me ajudar.

RPW IV - 4:

1. Pensar tanto que pude ajudar nós essa herbicida.

RPW IV - 5:

1. Foi fácil combater a peste? Foi muito fácil não.

RPW IV - 6:

1. Esse ano nós num podia.

RECORDED FIELD WORK: (RFW)

RFW I - 1:

1. A autora não vendeu e nem passou parte de seu terreno a ninguém.
2. Ele não tinha mais nada a declarar.
3. Não há mais nada em pauta.
4. Ele não é candidato a nada.
5. O povo não quer nada com este Governo.
6. O Governo não está fazendo nada.
7. V. Exa. não acrescentou nada, não disse nada.
8. A revolução não veio para castigar ninguém.
9. Não temos mais nada a dizer.
10. O nosso lavrador não vai lhe negar nada.
11. Não conseguiu fazer nada na terra onde eu nasci.
12. Não resolveu nada até agora.

RFW I - 2:

1. Se julgado o recurso e se houver, como decorrência dele, julgado a ser executado ...
2. O homem deve ter o pensamento próprio, ele deve transmitir aquilo que é dele.

RFW I - 3 (o 3rd person):

1. Os deputados que as aprovam ...
2. Lança-se e número do chassi de veículo que o transporta.
3. Tira o homem do campo e o transporta para a cidade.
4. Ele só destrói a casa quando a sua mulher o trai.
5. ... denominando-a Penitenciária Governador E.A.
6. Convido a comissão que os introduziu ...
7. Que os capixabas o elegeram por engano.
8. O M.P. talvez não o receba.
9. As constantes greves serviam para que os oportunistas as transformassem em trampolim.

RFW I - 4:

1. Mas hoje eu devo a vocês ...

RFW I - 5:

1. Na sessão de julgamento impressionou-me ...

RFW I - 6:

1. Se vocês puderem ... a satisfação de vê-las progredir.
2. ... paraninfã-las.

RFW I - 7 (lhes 2nd person):

1. ... que lhes permitiria.
2. E eu lhes peço: não parem.
3. Devo lhes dizer, devo lhes dar um conselho.

RFW I - 8 (o 3rd person):

1. O M.D.B. ... criticá-lo oportunamente.
2. Falo entusiasmado por acompanhá-lo de perto.
3. Temos procurado ir servi-los.
4. Nem por isso devemos suprimi-lo.
5. ... tentando reconduzi-lo à sociedade.
6. ... tentando convencê-lo a socorrer quinze famílias.
7. ... acompanhá-los até a saída do Palácio.
8. Não há número para a realização da sessão, por conseguinte vou encerrá-la.

RFW I - 9:

1. Um país onde os milhões de analfabetos nos assustam.
2. ... que nos honra.
3. O Governo nos iludiu.
4. Não nos cabe destacar esse ou aquele governo.
5. Revolução que foi feita para nos salvar.

RFW I - 10 (o 2nd person):

1. Sempre o apreciei.

RFW I - 11 (D.O. \emptyset):

1. Exigiram que eu lhes entregasse as provas das acusações.
E eu fui obrigado a entregar -.

RFW I - 12:

1. O que eu quero dizer a vocês hoje...

RFW I - 13 (lhe 2nd person):

1. Eu vou lhe conceder um aparte.
2. O título de cidadão capixaba, que lhe outorgamos, é a moeda da nossa gratidão, Ministro.

RFW I - 14: (lhe 3rd person):

1. Exigiram que eu lhes entregasse as provas das acusações.

2. O nosso lavrador não vai lhe negar nada.
3. Inteligência que Deus lhe deu.
4. Vem realizando uma obra a altura da confiança que lhe é depositada pelo Governo Federal.
5. ... do que aquilo que lhe é reservado.
6. Artigo ao qual se lhe atribui a seguinte redação.
7. Dando-lhe (ao artigo) nova forma.

RFW I + 15:

1. Esse país jamaís sairá do estado em que se encontra.
2. Uma comunidade que jamaís poderia esperar ...
3. Jamaís se esperava receber luz em Jatiboca.
4. Jamaís descerei aos resíduos do ser humano.
5. Jamaís perderei a minha personalidade como representante do povo.
6. Jamaís no ES nascerá um ser tão mau e tão perverso.
7. O Deputado D.Q. jamaís concluiu um pensamento seu nesta Casa.
8. Jamaís poderia esquecer aqui de homenagear a classe dos professores.
9. Nesse caso, esse reboque jamaís poderia ser vendido.

RFW I - 16:

1. Lider de uma bancada cuja maioria nada representa.
2. Morto ele nada vale.
3. Documentos que nada têm a ver com a discussão.
4. Candidatos que nada fizeram em defesa do povo.
5. Nela nada há que contrarie o dispositivo constitucional.

RFW I - 17:

1. V. Exa. não concede um aparte não, né?

RFW I - 18:

1. Eu não vejo nenhuma obrigação de MDB realizar coisa alguma.

RFW I - 19:

1. Isso não vem empanar de maneira nenhuma o brilho ...

RFW I - 20:

1. O povo não tem nem onde tirar uma lenha.
2. Não paga nem o quitandeiro.

RFW I - 21:

1. Eu não vejo nenhum inconveniente.
2. Não há nenhum prejuízo para as partes.
3. Não tendo sido vendido por escritura para nenhum dos ocupantes.
4. Julgamento que não chega a ocasionar prejuízo a nenhuma das partes.
5. Ele me disse que não encontrou em lei nenhuma a criação do distrito.
6. Eu não vejo nenhuma obrigação do MDB realizar coisa alguma.
7. Eu não conheço nenhum caso de sucesso.
8. Viável não é nenhuma sociedade.
9. E não atrita com nenhum dispositivo constitucional.

RFW I - 22:

1. E não tem qualquer atrito com o dispositivo constitucional.
2. Não há convivência com qualquer dispositivo constitucional.
3. Também não infringe qualquer dispositivo constitucional.

RFW I - 23:

1. Ninguém cuida disso aqui não.
2. Nunca viu não?

RFW I - 24:

1. Tentando convencê-lo a secorrer 15 famílias que não têm água sequer para beber.

RFW I - 25:

1. Não há absolutamente integração dessa prova testemunhal em suspeita alguma.

RFW I - 26:

1. Nem todos têm prestígio.

RFW I - 27:

1. Coisa que nunca aconteceu.
2. Nunca discordaram do governo.
3. Eu nunca saí da minha linha.
4. Roubo que nunca fiz.

RFW I - 28:

1. Projetos sem nenhuma importância para o povo.

RFW I - 29: (seu 3rd person):

1. Como disse na sua prática de hoje o nosso Monsenhor Belotti.
2. Se há prova de que a autora transferiu seus direitos ao réu...
3. Obteve por doação de sua tia.
4. A autora não vendeu e nem passou parte de seu terreno a ninguém.
5. Sua Exa. o Sr. Juiz, ao proferir sua sentença, reconheceu que houve a sonegação conforme esse pequeno trecho de sua respeitável sentença.
6. O apelado trouxe para o processo em sua defesa uma série de documentos.
7. Esse Tribunal estará fazendo sua costumeira e tranqüila justiça.
8. Os trabalhadores até hoje não podem ajudar seus filhos.
9. O povo não tem nem onde tirar uma lenha para o seu fogão.
10. O Governo assina um convênio e o Secretário da Agricultura suspende a sua execução.

RFW I - 30 (seu 3rd person):

1. Convoco para apresentar o seu parecer.
2. A Presidente e suas colegas.
3. Quando ele tem o seu chassis ...
4. Não é a primeira vez que o Sr. Paulo Lemos dá uma demonstração de sua incapacidade.
5. Sua administração conseguiu trazer o Presidente da República.

6. Nós conhecemos bem o seu sofrimento, as suas lágrimas.
7. O proprietário do poço proibiu que elas utilizassem da sua água.
8. Deveria trazer a sua inteligência.
9. As características do país, seu modo de ser ...
10. O povo vai pagar com o seu sacrifício.
11. Ao término de sua administração.
12. Somente este povo, consciente dos seus deveres e das suas obrigações ...
13. O seu pensamento é o pensamento do Sr. E.A.
14. A Comissão de Justiça ... dá seu Parecer.
15. A lei entrará em vigor na data da sua publicação.

RFW I - 31:

1. Enquanto nós sequer nos fazíamos ouvir ...

RFW I - 32:

1. Ninguém concordou com isso.

RFW I - 33:

1. É nestas oportunidades que a gente procura carrear algumas recursos para o Espírito Santo.
2. Espero que a gente possa trazer uma contribuição.
3. É por onde geralmente a gente passa com destino ao trabalho.

RFW I - 34:

1. Nenhum deputado da ARENA criticou o Secretário da Agricultura.
2. Nenhum outro sacudi tanto a administração pública.

RFW I - 35:

1. Nem a fome o enfraqueceu.

RFW II - 1:

1. Cada região de Congo tem suas próprias músicas?
2. Cada um tem a sua língua.

RFW II - 2:

1. A página portuguesa não tem nada de característico.
2. Não tem nada de típico.
3. Se não desse tempo, ele não falava nada.
4. Esse governo não faz nada.
5. Não, não tinha ninguém.
6. O cara nao dava bola pra ninguém.
7. Não gosta de nada.
8. Nao estamos achando nada.

RFW II - 3:

1. Fez mal hora nenhuma.

RFW II - 4:

1. O governo nada faz.

RFW II - 5:

1. Mas nenhuma delas estava errada.

RFW II - 6:

1. Foi gentil não.
2. Foi minha colega não.
3. Tinha chefe não.

RFW II - 7:

1. A pretensão dele foi a de reproduzir a fala.
2. McLuhan, no livro dele, ele diz que antes da Renascença...
3. Na carteira dela.
4. Um aluno dele.

RFW II - 8:

1. E nos dê proteção.

RFW II - 9:

1. Quando a senhora conheceu ele?
2. Só para derrubar ela.
3. Tornar ela mais acessível ao povo?
4. Não conheço ela não.
5. A menina caiu em cima e eu não queria deixar ela.
6. Raquel conhece ele.
7. Escuta, será que esse quadro ele já comprou ele com a moldura?
8. Recomenda ele a Deus.

RFW II - 10(a 3rd person):

1. Se ele pronuncia bem a palavra, não há proque não representá-la bem.
2. Pode ser até que você vá procurá-lo e ele já tenha ido.
3. Vou colocá-las em votação.

RFW II - 11:

1. Novela me mata.

RFW II - 12(o 3rd person):

1. Assim a língua escreve o mesmo fonema, se o possui, de modo diferente.

RFW II - 13:

1. Quero te ver hoje à noite.
2. Vim te avisar só que eu não vou trabalhar hoje.

RFW II - 14:

1. Mandar você lá agora.
2. Às vezes não falou porque ele mesmo resolveu e não quis ocupar você.

RFW II - 15 (D.O. 6):

1. Vendeu-lá e comprou aqui -?
2. Já que você vai lá, leva -.
3. Pegaram o homem, jogaram-na Sta. Casa e largaram-lá.
4. Tá, eu vou lá pegar -.
5. Devo ter -. Vou lá pegar -.
6. Se ele quiser tirar a placa, ele tira -. e bota -. em outro carro.
7. Sabe o quê que eu fiz? Acabei de rasgar -. Porque assim a lavadeira nota que está rasgada e concerta -.

RFW II - 16:

1. Eu já tinha dito a ele que eu não falava mais nesse assunto.
2. Sou muito grato a eles.

RFW II - 17:

1. N.C.? Discorreu sobre? Jamais em tempo algum.

RFW II - 18:

1. Não, num tava não.
2. Mas, Fábio, enrola bem enrolado, não vai contar mentira não.
3. Você não precisa não, eu lavo com Milute.
4. Não conheço ela nao.
5. Estudar que é bom nao estudo não.
6. Ah hoje não posso nao.
7. Eles não vão morar na fazenda não?
8. Aquela casa não estava rachando nao?
9. Não vou agora nao.
10. Nao vem sexta-feira não, que é dia de macumba.
11. A turma toda não decepcionou o colégio não.
12. Porque não tem outra salvação não.

RFW II - 19:

1. É muito formal a frase mas não é estranha.
2. Cês num vêm pra aula?
3. Ah o carro num tá aqui.
4. Aquela casa nao estava rachando? (Você não lembra?)
5. Ele não gosta de viajar.
6. Não gosta de sair.
7. Gente da Serra aqui não tem problema.
8. Eu vou fazer tudo que eu puder por você, hem. Agora, não posso garantir.
9. Você não mudou para Carapina?

RFW II - 20:

1. Geralmente não há lógica nenhuma.
2. Isso tem sido verificado, sem motivo nenhum.

RFW II - 21:

1. Mas nem isso tem.

RFW II - 22:

1. Ninguém quer saber se é realmente fato.
2. Ninguém tava de gozação.
3. Ninguém vai morar ...

RFW II - 23:

1. Os nossos escritores nunca souberam escrever a sua língua.
2. O povo nunca entendeu isso.

RFW II - 24:

1. Mamãe nunca jamais em tempo algum foi daquele jeito.

RFW II - 25:

1. A etimologia, sem estar ligada à história fonética da língua, conduz à confusão.
2. Sem retornar à língua de Portugal.

RFW II - 26:

1. Eu quero casar nada.
2. Liga nada.
3. Faz mal nada.
4. E adiantou alguma coisa? Adiantou nada.

RFW II - 27 (seu 2nd person):

1. E., desliga seu trem aí que a gente vai lavar prato.
2. Faz lá sua oração, você que é pastor.

RFW II - 28 (seu 3rd person):

1. Os nossos escritores nunca souberam escrever a sua língua.
2. O povo conquistador, se era mais adiantado, impunha a sua língua.
3. Ela perde também o seu valor.
4. E os colégios também dão bolsa aos melhores seus para que eles não saiam.

RFW II - 29:

1. E eu num esclareci nada pra ninguém.

RFW III - 1:

1. A Nuzia não demudou nada.
2. E não senti nada mal lá.
3. Gente, isso não pega nada não.
4. Ele não tinha nada contra Jane.
5. Nós não temos nada contra.
6. A gente não cobrava nada.
7. Não sabia quase nada.
8. O mar ... não tem nada.
9. Não faz nada não.

RFW III - 2:

1. Fica lá na casa dela.
2. O gênio dela.
3. A filha dela.
4. A mãe dela era Iel.

RFW III - 3:

1. O mestre tirava a conoa dele ...
2. Ninguém sabe a vida do cunhado dele onde que existe.

RFW III - 4:

1. Eu vou dizer (uma coisa) a você.

RFW III - 5:

1. ... que é uma pessoa que eu considero ela ...
2. A gente já conhece ele.
3. Eu tirei ela de casa.
4. O senhor quer levar ela, o senhor leva.
5. Chegar na Prefeitura e não topar ele.
6. Eu levo ele pra lá.
7. Não acompanha eles não.
8. Eu quero consultar ele com o médico.
9. Dou estudo a eles, boto eles na escola ...
10. Eu não largo ele.
11. Eu carinho ele.
12. Carlos leva ele na igreja.

RFW III - 6:

1. Tinha eu só.
2. Tinha o velho, a madrastra e eu.
3. Leva eu, tambor.

RFW III - 7:

1. Todos meus amigos me apóiam.
2. Ele me colocou em jardim.
3. Ele me carinha.
4. Aquilo me aborrece.
5. Deus me livre.

RFW III - 8:

1. Quem nos leva é Deus. Deus leva e Deus nos traz.

RFW III - 9(D.O. ϕ):

1. Comprei o remédio, passei—.
2. Vendi - lá e comprei - aqui.

RFW III - 10:

1. Meus amigos, meus companheiros, que dor tenho de hoje deixar vocês.
2. Mas Nossa Senhora da Penha que acompanhe vocês.

RFW III - 11:

1. Deu estudo a eles.
2. Ela não dá obediência a ele.

RFW III - 12(lhe 2nd person):

1. O que eu tenho para lhe dizer ...

RFW III - 13:

1. Eu te dou o dinheiro.

4. Eu não gosto.
5. Vovô, papai disse que não vai na colação de grau.
6. Não gosta de leite.
7. Por que a Jandira não cortou aquele bolo?
8. O mar não tem canoa grande, não tem pequena, não tem nada.

RFW III - 21:

1. Eu não conheço mais nem esse povo.
2. Eu nao sei nem assinar meu nome.
3. Eu nao posso nem dar relação disso.

RFW III - 22:

1. Não tinha colégio em parte nenhuma.
2. Para mim não existe nenhum (problema).
3. Para mim nao existe problema nenhum.
4. O senhor nao tem farinha nenhuma, né?

RFW III - 23:

1. Não tem nenhum.
2. Você não tem crença nenhuma.

RFW III - 24:

1. Eu por brincadeira nenhuma eu me bato.

RFW III - 25:

1. Nem toda a música a Banda de Congo pode acompanhar não.
2. Nunca entrei em colégio não.
3. Eu nunca cozinhei não.

RFW III - 26:

1. Nem toda a música a banda de Congo pode acompanhar não.
2. Nem pescar mais eu tou podendo.

RFW III - 27:

1. Nem em Cachoeiro você não vai não?
2. Nem na casa de Marileila quase que ele não vem.
3. Nem com comida não tem onde gastar.
4. Nem ir lá num gosto.
5. Diz que nem bichinho não dá.

RFW III - 28:

1. Ninguém quer comprar.
2. Ninguém sabe a vida do cunhado dele ondê que existe.
3. Ninguém fala com ela.

RFW III - 29:

1. É porque ninguém às vezes não sabe, né?

RFW III - 30:

1. Na minha banda de Congo nunca houve desafio.
2. Pescando eu sozinho, nunca eu encontrei ...

RFW III - 14:

1. E., você sabe quem quer te visitar?
2. Não te bato por causa dessa porcaria que ocê tá carregando ...

RFW III - 15:

1. Sou burra não.
2. Quero ir nao.
3. Faz não.

RFW III - 16:

1. Ele não fica lá em casa não.
2. Eu nao gosto de brincadeira não.
3. Ele não está ruim não.
4. Eu nao tenho queixado dele não.
5. Ele nao dá não.
6. Adriana não tá puxando muito longe não.
7. Gente, isso não pega nada não.
8. Até que eu nao gostei não.
9. Não gosto nao.
10. Eu acho que eu não vou comprar não.
11. Não precisa não.
12. Você não é crente não.
13. Agora nao está doendo mais não.
14. Cê num dormiu não, Zezinho?
15. Não, num tá não.
16. Num fico não, Dr. Américo.
17. Num dou nao.
18. Num tá bem aberta a estrada não.
19. Num me governa não.
20. Num faz nada nao.

RFW III - 17:

1. Que nada eu tenho para fazer para ele.
2. E mais nada posso dizer.
3. Bem, nada eu posso fazer com vós.

RFW III - 18:

1. Num credito nessa gente nada.
2. Não vai nada.
3. Eu não ia andar a pé naquele cavalo nada.

RFW III - 19:

1. Esse é o menor? É nada.
2. E já tem filho com essa outra? Tem nada.
3. Pode até vançar no Sr. Moraes de foicinha, hem. Vança nada.
4. Tem nada, nunca vi.
5. Fui nada.
6. Pagam bem aqui? Paga nada.

RFW III - 20:

1. Ele não chama.
2. Aquilo não me atinge.
3. A Lena falou assim: Eu não vou.

3. Nunca fui (ã escola).
4. Nunca entrei em colégio não.
5. Eu nunca cozinhei não.
6. Nunca vi fazer enxerto.
7. Nunca vi tanta.

RFW III - 31:

1. A sua segunda pessoa dele.
2. E hoje me acho satisfeito de ver o nosso professor, a sua segunda pessoa dele dentro de minha casa.
3. E ela me considera a mim.
4. Se o veio me deixasse eu ...
5. Os outro me convidava eu pra sair ...

RFW III - 32 (seu 2nd person):

1. Você acerta sua pancada.
2. Seu pai.

RFW III - 33 (seu 3rd person):

1. Quando ele saiu, ele fez a despedida dos seus companheiros lá.

RFW III - 34:

1. Cada um de nós tinha seu tambor.
2. Todo mundo gosta do seus lugares.

RFW III - 35:

1. Ela levanta sem comer nada.

RFW III - 36:

1. Eu não posso tomar conta da minha embarcação sem eu não tá na popa de meu barco.

RFW III - 37:

1. A gente já conhece ele.

RFW III - 38:

1. Não, Alcides, não saí, ficai.
2. Se vós ficais na Prefeitura, não sois vós que ficais, sou eu.

RFW IV - 1:

1. Eu não posso com nada doce.
2. Tem época que eu quase não enxergo nada.
3. Eu não conheço nada lá.
4. Diz ele que não sente nada.
5. Ele não tem confiança em ninguém não.
6. Eu acho que é a pior coisa do mundo um casal de velho tá aqui dentro de casa e não aparecer ninguém pra conversar com ele.
7. Eu não aprendi nada.
8. Ela nao passava nada pra elas.
9. Não sente nada.
10. Eu não faço mais nada.

11. Não tem nada.
12. Não tinha nada pra comer.
13. Não tem ninguém em casa não.
14. Não havia nada disso.
15. Agora não estou prestando pra nada.
16. Eu não conheço nada.
17. Não tem mais ninguém.

RFW IV - 2:

1. Eu fiquei no lugar dela.
2. Foi lá pra M. F. levar a neta dele pra fazer curativo no pé.
3. O neto dela ...
4. ... pegar o endereço deles ...
5. Tirar o prazer dele.
6. Pessoal dele.
7. Ele conta a situação dele todinha.
8. A muiê dele.
9. Padrinho dele.

RFW IV - 3:

1. Ele quando quer nós lá, ele manda buscar a gente.

RFW IV - 4:

1. Nós tratava ela assim de Silvinha.
2. Uma mulher sumiu, custaram pra achar ela.
3. Eu nem vi ele.
4. Consertaram ela?
5. Tá fazendo um ano em dezembro que eu não vejo ele.
6. A madrinha mudou pro Rio, levou ela.
7. De vez em quando eu vou lá vê ela.
8. O animal derruba ele.
9. Mando buscar um garrote e mato ele.
10. Se eu não for lá visitar eles ...
11. Bota ela ...
12. Mataram ele ...
13. A mãe não podia nem sustentar ele.
14. Ninguém conhecia ele.
15. A senhora deseja vê ele?
16. Salvou ela.

RFW IV - 5:

1. Só se ela mandar eu embora que eu saio.
2. Bastião toda vez que ele vem pega eu e leva pra consultar.

RFW IV - 6 (lhe 2nd person):

1. Se ele lhe ver, vai lhe matar.

RFW IV - 7:

1. Ela me ensinava.
2. Eles quer me levar mas não vou não.
3. Ela me deu esta casa pra mim morar.
4. Mas ele pouco me ajuda, ajuda nada.
5. O sol me mata.

6. Toda vez que ele vem ele me leva pra consultar.
7. O médico me deu um remédio.
8. O dia que o M. me avisou, eu não podia ir.
9. ... me levou.
10. Nunca me acostumei.
11. Não quiseram me aceitar.
12. Quae me levou.
13. Pedi o moço que me leva até ni mei de caminho.

RFW IV - 8:

1. Morreu, me deixou eu pequeno.
2. Ela não quis me levar eu não.

RFW IV - 9:

1. ... nos convida.

RFW IV - 10:

1. Homem nenhum não dá salvação nós não.
2. Eles não incomoda nós não.
3. Ele quando quer nós lá, ele manda buscar a gente.

RFW IV - 11 (D.O. ϕ):

1. É assim, a gente luta mas tem -.
2. Larguei -, hoje sou católica.
3. Consertaram ela (a ponte)? Consertou -.
4. Bastião toda vez que ele vem pega eu e leva-pra consultar.
5. Ele foi lá rancou as folha tudo, largou-lá ...
6. Ele ficou conhecendo o sobrinho porque Marileila levou-lá.
7. Deixa-aí.
8. Já tirou -?
9. Matou o Compadre Macaco e deu-pro leão carregar.
10. Mulher, matei -.
11. Matou -?

RFW IV - 12:

1. Dar conselho a ela.
2. Pra dar a ela pra comer.
3. Quero que a senhora diga a ele ...
4. Ninguém prestou assunto a ele.

RFW IV - 13:

1. Minha velhinha sempre deu amor, amizade a eu.

RFW IV - 14:

1. Homem nenhum não da salvação nós não.

RFW IV - 15:

1. O Gessy, vou te chamar pra você ir comigo lá.
2. Eu mesmo queria te ver e queria montar nas suas costa.

RFW IV - 16:

1. Sei nada, nada desta vida.

2. Mas ele pouco me ajuda, ajuda nada.
3. Aqui não vende, né? Vende nada.
4. Tem (farmácia) nada, menina.
5. Toma nada.
6. A senhora não pensa em sair daqui não? Penso nada.
7. A sra. escreve carta pra filha em BH? Eu escrevo nada.

RFW IV - 17:

1. Nada servia para ele.

RFW IV - 18:

1. Vendo não.
2. Tem muita coisa não.

RFW IV - 19:

1. Eu não vou aprender mais não.
2. Não vou ficar mais não.
3. Não, ele não ia pra lá não.
4. Ela não vai a missa mais não.
5. Eles quer me levar mas não vou não.
6. Ele não sai não.
7. Não medi não.
8. Homem nenhum não dá salvação nós não.
9. Não tem estrada ruim não.
10. Eles não incomoda nós não.
11. Não vendo mais madeira não.
12. Não ando muito bem não.
13. Aqui mesmo não tem Prefeito não.

RFW IV - 20:

1. A mãe não vai, menina.
2. Feijão de João não cozinha, né?
3. Era pra terminar hoje, mas não vieram esta semana.
4. Aqui não vende, né?
5. Não sei ler.

RFW IV - 21:

1. Não quer ir pro Alegre de jeito nenhum.
2. Eu não posso mais com o sol de jeito nenhum.
3. Eu não queria casar de jeito nenhum.
4. Não faço de jeito nenhum.
5. Não queria saber daquele pobre de jeito nenhum.

RFW IV - 22:

1. Não posso nem engordar um capado.
2. E num fica nem mucadim.
3. Não tem nem uma menina mulher.
4. Eu não tenho nem um irmão aqui.
5. A mãe não podia nem sustentar ele.
6. Não sei nem assinar meu nome.
7. Lá no Rio eu não tive nem escola.

RFW IV - 23:

1. Não esqueço nunca da vida dessa família.
2. Não apareça mais nunca aqui.

RFW IV - 24:

1. Não tem sobrinho nenhum que tem confiança com ele.
2. Se não tirar nenhum, fica todo nela.
3. ... sem conhecer pessoa nenhuma.
4. Ele não tem parentes nenhum.

RFW IV - 25:

1. Nem uma farmácia não tem.
2. Eu nem lá não fui.
3. Nem uma panela eu não podia pegar.
4. Nem que não tivesse problema eu não vinha.
5. Nem um passarinho não vive com fartura aí dentro ...
6. Nem eu não sei como é que fala.

RFW IV - 26:

1. Nem em Cachoeiro eu nunca fui.

RFW IV - 27:

1. Ninguém pede as coisa aqui.
2. Ninguém cuida disso aqui não.
3. Ninguém interessa.
4. Couro come e ninguém vê.
5. Ninguém me conhece por esse nome.
6. Ninguém conhecia ele.

RFW IV - 28:

1. Ninguém não sabe ler.

RFW IV - 29:

1. Ninguém nunca sabia que coisa era doutor.

RFW IV - 30:

1. Esse menina nunca consultou um médico.
2. Nunca fui.
3. Nunca fui em Cachoeiro.
4. Nunca vi um esquecimento assim.
5. Ele nunca arranhou um homem.
6. Inte hoje nunca lancei mão numa agúia de ninguém.
7. Eu nunca vi um hominho daquele beber daquele jeito.
8. Nunca pratiquei.
9. Nunca tinha visto.
10. Nunca me acostumei.
11. Nunca viu não?
12. Nunca fui na Delegacia.
13. O cavalo nunca falou.
14. Uma mulher que nunca ganhou neném.
15. Vitória nunca fui.

RFW IV - 31:

1. Vou te dar tanto ...
2. Vou te falar um negócio.
3. Agora eu te mato.

RFW IV - 32 (sua 2nd person):

1. Você vai com sua mãe?

RFW IV - 33:

1. Não cai uma folha sem que Deus não queira.

RFW IV - 34:

1. Eu passei uma temporada sem ir a Muniz Freire, menina.
2. Os anos passam sem a gente ver.
3. Sem conhecer pessoa nenhuma.

RFW IV - 35:

1. Nós plantamos.

RFW IV - 36:

1. Homem nenhum não da salvação nós não.

RFW IV - 37:

1. Nunca briguei com ninguém.
2. Inte hoje nunca lancei mao numa agúia de ninguém.

RFW IV - 38:

1. Não pego nada de ninguém.

RFW IV - 39:

1. Cada um tem a sua parte da casa.

RFW IV - 40:

1. Ela não tá contando as coisa direito nada.

RFW V - 1:

1. Papai do Céu, fazei nós todos felizes.

RFW V - 2:

1. E quem deixou você no cavalinho?

RFW V - 3(D.O. ϕ):

1. Tirei -! Você que vai passar -?
2. Você deixa-cair!
3. Então toma -.
4. Você deixa cair -, ô.

RFW V - 4:

1. Quem ensinou a você, Christian?
2. Dá um a você também não?

RFW V - 5:

1. Quem foi que me falou isso?

RFW V - 6:

1. Chupa assim não, filhinho.
2. Chora não.
3. Quer mais balinha não?
4. Abre não? Abre não, Pai.
5. Pode televisão nao.
6. Carro sai maisi nao.
7. Dá um a você também não?
8. Não, deixei anel não.
9. Quer não.
10. Vai dormir no meu lado não, hem.
11. Tomou o remédio direitinho? Tomou nao.
12. Foi pro colégio? Foi não.

RFW V - 7:

1. Não guardou pra papai não?
2. Nao pode não.
3. Meu não faz assim não.
4. Não pode perder não, tá?
5. Ele não sabe falar não.
6. Cê num deixou o anel nao?
7. Cê não é bobão não?
8. Não pode ir não.
9. Papai não está zangado com você não.
10. Eu não cocei não.
11. Pois é, não coça não.

RFW V - 8:

1. Papai também não puxou?
2. Você não deu pra mamãe, filhinho?
3. Aí mamãe não comprou.
4. Se tiver um horário só, não dá.
5. Ela diz que não quer merendar, que não está com fome.
6. O de papai nao sai.
7. Você não sabe.

RFW V - 9:

1. Ninguém tava sabendo.

RFW V - 10:

1. Nunca esqueci.

RFW V - 11 (seu 2nd person):

1. Seu carro faz assim?

RFW V - 12:

1. Lúcio, você não dá um jeito não do carro levar ... não?

WRITTEN LANGUAGE: (WL)

WL I - 1:

1. E entra no mundo que jamaiz não mente. (Machado de Assis, in Sousa da Silveira (1938 : 263).

WL I - 2:

1. Nenhum mal nom é. (Cf. Sousa da Silveira, 1938 : 362).

WL I - 3:

1. Ninguém nom levar. (Cf. Sousa da Silveira, 1938 : 39).

WL II - 1:

1. Não há ninguém que ... (John 7 : 4)

WL II - 2:

1. Acabando Jesus de dar instruções aos seus doze discípulos, partiu dali a ensinar e pregar nas cidades deles. (Mat. 11 : 1)
2. ... chegou à sinagoga deles. (Mat. 12 : 9)

WL II - 3 (o 3rd person):

1. Procurar o menino para o matar. (Mat. 2 : 13)
2. O que vem a mim de maneira nenhuma o lançarei fora. (John 6 : 37).

WL II - 4 (lhe 3rd person):

1. ... para lhes servir de testemunho. (Mat. 8 : 4).
2. Não lhes fará dano algum. (Mark 16 : 18).
3. Tua mulher dará à luz um filho e lhe porás o nome de João. (Luke 1 : 13).
4. Jesus lhe disse: Eu irei e lhe darei saúde. (Mat. 8 : 7).
5. E não ousaram perguntar-lhe mais coisa alguma. (Luke 20 : 40).

WL II - 5:

1. ... e ajuda-nos. (Mark 9 : 22).
2. ... porque não nos segue. (Mark 9 : 38).

WL II - 6:

1. Nem jamaiz haverá. (Mark 13 : 19).

WL II - 7:

1. De modo algum entrareis no Reino dos Céus. (Mat. 18 : 3).

WL II - 8:

1. De modo nenhum te acontecerá isso. (Mat. 16 : 22).

WL II - 9:

1. Nada respondeu. (Mat. 27 : 12).
2. Nada respondes? (Mark 14 : 60).
3. Ele calou-se e nada respondeu. (Mark 14 : 61).
4. Porém ele nada respondia. (Mark 15 : 3).

5. Mas Jesus nada mais respondeu. (Mark 15 : 5).
6. E nada diziam a ninguém. (Mark 16 : 8).
7. Nada apanhamos. (Luke 5 : 5).

WL II - 10:

1. Não chores. (Luke 7 : 13).
2. Não têm vinho. (John 2 : 3)

WL II - 11:

1. A esta geração não se dará sinal algum. (Mark 8 : 12).
2. Se beberem alguma coisa mortífera, não lhes fara dano algum. (Mark 16 : 18).
3. Nada vos fará dano algum. (Luke 10 : 19).
4. Não tendo em trevas parte alguma. (Luke 11 : 36).
5. Não acho culpa alguma neste homem. (Luke 23 : 4).
6. Não acho nele culpa alguma de morte. (Luke 23 : 22).
7. Na verdade Joao não fez sinal algum. (John 10 : 41).
8. E não dizes parábola alguma. (John 16 : 29).
9. Não acho nele crime algum. (John 18 : 38).
10. E não fez diferença alguma entre eles e nós. (Acts 15 : 9).
11. ... não vos impor mais encargo algum. (Acts 15 : 28).
12. Não havendo causa alguma com que possamos justificar este concurso ... (Acts 19 : 40).
13. Não fiz agravo algum aos judeus. (Acts 25 : 10).

WL II - 12:

1. Eu não pequei em coisa alguma contra a lei dos Judeus. (Acts 25 : 8).
2. Não tenho coisa alguma certa que escreva ao meu senhor. (Acts 25 : 26).

WL II - 13:

1. Encontrareis preso um jumentinho sobre o qual ainda não montou homem algum. (Mark 11 : 2).
2. Não tenho homem algum ... (John 5 : 7).
3. Para que não falem mais nesse nome a homem algum. (Acts 4 : 17).

WL II - 14:

1. Não te faças nenhum mal. (Acts 16 : 28).

WL II - 15:

1. A nós não nos é lícito matar pessoa alguma. (John 18 : 31).

WL II - 16:

1. E não podia de modo algum endireitar-se. (Luke 13 : 11).

WL II - 17:

1. Olha não o digas a alguém ... (Mat. 8 : 4).
2. Não queria que alguém o soubesse. (Mark 9 : 30).
3. Deus nunca foi visto por alguém. (John 1 : 18).
4. Nunca mais coma alguém fruto de ti. (Mark 11 : 14).

WL II - 18:

1. Ninguém dizia que coisa alguma do que possuía era sua própria. (Acts 4 : 32).
2. Nunca comi coisa alguma comum e imunda. (Acts 10 : 14).

WL II - 19:

1. Nem a túnica recuses. (Luke 6 : 29)
2. Nem ainda em Israel tenho achado tanta fé. (Luke 7 : 9).
3. Nem a Deus temia. (Luke 18 : 2).

WL II - 20:

1. Nenhuma culpa acho neste homem. (Luke 23 : 14).
2. Mas aquele a quem Deus ressuscitou nenhuma corrupção viu. (Acts 13 : 37).
3. Este nenhum mal fez. (Luke 23 : 41).

WL II - 21:

1. Que a ninguém dissessem que ele era o Cristo. (Mat. 16 : 20).
2. Ninguém há na tua parentela ... (Luke 1 : 61).
3. A ninguém trateis mal. (Luke 3 : 14).

WL II - 22:

1. Nunca homem algum falou assim como este homem. (John 7 : 46).

WL II - 23:

1. Nós não recebemos acerca de ti cartas algumas da Judéia. (Acts 28 : 21).
2. Sem impedimento algum. (Acts 28 : 31).

WL II - 24:

1. Não respondes coisa alguma ao que estes depõem contra ti? (Mat. 26 : 62).
2. Esta casta não pode sair com coisa alguma. (Mark 9 : 29).
3. Não desça para casa, nem entre a tomar coisa alguma de sua casa. (Mark 13 : 15).
4. E não ousaram perguntar-lhe mais coisa alguma. (Luke 20 : 40).
5. Não tem feito coisa alguma digna de morte. (Luke 23 : 15).
6. O Filho por si mesmo não pode fazer coisa alguma. (John 5 : 19).
7. Eu não posso de mim mesmo fazer coisa alguma. (John 5 : 30).
8. Não há ninguém que procure ser conhecido que faça coisa alguma em oculto. (John 7 : 4).

WL II - 25:

1. Mas a eles não lhes é dado. (Mat. 13 : 11).
2. A mim nem sempre me tendes. (Mark 14 : 7).
3. Pareceu-me também a mim ... (Luke 1 : 3).
4. Também nos afrontas a nós ... (Luke 11 : 45).
5. A nós nao nos é lícito matar pessoa alguma. (John 18 : 31).

WL II - 26:

1. Toma o menino e sua mãe ... (Mat. 2 : 13).
2. Acabando Jesus de dar instruções aos seus doze discípulos, partiu dali. (Mat. 11 : 1).

3. E assentou-se ali com os seus discípulos. (John 6 : 3).

WL II - 27:

1. Se algum homem tiver cem ovelhas ... (Mat. 18 : 22).

WL II - 28:

1. Não diga nada a ninguém. (Mark 1 : 44).

WL III - 1:

1. Devo confessar que jamaiz vi o nome descrever uma pessoa tão bem.

WL III - 2:

1. Não voltará jamaiz.

WL III - 3:

1. Condenado a não morrer nunca, nunca.

WL III - 4:

1. Saiu foi ouro nenhum.

WL III - 5:

1. E ninguém nunca me pareceu tão cheia de vida.

WL III - 6:

1. Basta aqui lembrar apenas que através desses conceitos suponho o universo funcionando como um todo indivisível em que nada está em excesso e coisa alguma é dispensável ...

WL IV - 1:

1. Mas não parece nada alimentado.
2. Nesse lado não há perigo de encontrar ninguém.

WL IV - 2 (seu 3rd person):

1. Posteriormente a criança é encaminhada à FESBEM, que se torna responsável por seu destino.
2. O enquadramento que aguardavam há vários anos, para melhorar seu salário, acaba de sair.

WL IV - 3:

1. No depoimento dele ...

WL IV - 4(o 3rd person):

1. Quanto à captura de P.S., D.N. fez questão de desmentir que o tivesse enviado ao Rio.
2. ... servir à população que hoje o mantém estudando.

WL IV 5 (lhe 3rd person):

1. ... tratamento que lhes era dispensado.

WL IV - 6:

1. A comunidade capixaba assiste estarrecida aos crimes cometidos por alguns contra os menores, envolvendo tráfico e corrupção de crianças que, de modo algum ... poderiam receber o vil tratamento.
2. E voltou a reafirmar que em momento algum houve pressão contra o delegado R.A.

WL IV - 7:

1. Ele nada falou quanto às buscas.
2. Quanto as buscas, D.N. nada disse.
3. Para conseguir a melhoria os professores nada tiveram de fazer.
4. Para ele, enquanto não estiverem concluídas as investigações policiais a cargo do Delegado RLA, nada poderá dizer sobre a questão.
5. ... já que a Universidade quase nada oferece ...

WL IV - 8:

1. (Não me censuro de maneira alguma.

WL IV - 9:

1. Eu também não recebo mais ordens de filho-da-puta nenhum.

WL IV - 10:

1. Viajo a Europa inteira e finjo que não existe nenhum país chamado Suíça.

WL IV - 11:

1. A comunidade capixaba assiste estarrecida aos crimes cometidos por alguns contra os menores, envolvendo tráfico e corrupção de crianças que, de modo algum, e em nome de nenhum pretexto, poderiam receber o vil tratamento.

WL IV - 12:

1. Além do mais, ele alegou que as declarações dadas pelos presos numa entrevista não têm qualquer valor jurídico.

WL IV - 13:

1. Ninguém me deu flauta alguma.

WL IV - 14:

1. Ninguém nunca tinha ouvido falar em 1001.

WL IV - 15:

1. O primeiro número de Unidade e Luta recebeu várias críticas ... que levaram a nos preocupar ...
2. Agradecemos todas as críticas pois elas ... nos leva a buscar um aprimoramento cada vez maior ...
3. Esperamos ... contar ... com a manifestação dos colegas no sentido de nos indicar o que podemos fazer ...
4. Esperamos ... que a convivência no D.A. nos dê o amadurecimento que precisamos para buscar o que a Universidade nos nega.
5. Na mesma barca nos encontramos.

WL V - 1:

1. ... e não dizia nada ... (Mat. 13 : 34).

WL V - 2:

1. Porque ele salvará seu povo dos pecados deles. (Mat. 1 : 21).
2. Eu não sou digno de carregar as sandálias dele. (Mat. 3 : 11).
3. Jesus tocou nos olhos deles. (Mat. 9 : 29).
4. Se eu apenas tocar na roupa dele ... (Mat 9 : 21).
5. Ajoelhou-se aos pés dele ... (Mat. 15 : 25).

WL V - 3:

1. Assim também a luz de vocês deve brilhar. (Mat. 5 : 16).
2. Então o Pai do Céu não perdoará as ofensas de vocês. (Mat. 6 : 15).
3. O coração de vocês estará onde estiverem suas riquezas. (Mat. 6 : 21).
4. Se os olhos de vocês forem bons ... (Mat. 6 : 22).
5. O Pai de vocês ... (Mat. 6 : 32).

WL V - 4(o 2nd person):

1. Eles vão segurá-lo com suas mãos. (Mat. 4 : 6).
2. Se alguém fizer alguma acusação a você e levá-lo ao tribunal ... (Mat. 5 : 25).
3. Deus vai ouvi-los. (Mat. 6 : 7).
4. ... recebê-los. (Mat. 10 : 11).

WL V - 5(lhe 3rd person):

1. Depois abriram suas caixas e lhe ofereceram presentes. (Mat. 2 : 11).
2. Não vim acabar com eles e sim lhes dar o verdadeiro sentido. (Mat. 5 : 17).
3. Quem se divorciar de sua mulher, que lhe dê carta de divórcio. (Mat. 5 : 31).
4. Se um homem se divorciar de sua mulher que lhe é fiel ... (Mat. 5 : 32).

WL V - 6(lo 3rd person):

1. Vimos sua estrela no Oriente e viemos adorá-lo. (Mat. 2 : 2).
2. Herodes está procurando a criança para matá-la. (Mat. 2 : 13).
3. Mas João tentou convencê-lo a mudar de idéia. (Mat. 3 : 14).
4. E ele começou a ensiná-los dizendo ... (Mat. 5 : 2).
5. Felizes os que choram. Deus vai consolá-los! (Mat. 5 : 4).
6. Deus vai deixá-los completamente satisfeitos. (Mat. 5 : 6).
7. Quem olhar para uma mulher e desejar possuí-la ... (Mat. 5 : 28).
8. Pensam que ... Deus vai ouvi-los. (Mat. 6 : 7).

WL V - 7:

1. E quando o encontrarem me avisem. (Mat. 2 : 8).

WL V - 8(o 3rd person):

1. Quando Herodes viu que os visitantes do Oriente o haviam enganado ... (Mat. 2 : 16).
2. Depois os mandou a Belém ... (Mat. 2 : 8).

3. E quando o encontrarem ... (Mat. 2 : 8).
4. Aí ajoelharam diante dele e o adoraram. (Mat. 2 : 11).
5. E ele os batizava no rio Jordão. (Mat. 3 : 6).
6. O Diabo o colocou na parte mais alta do templo. (Mat. 4 : 5).
7. Jesus os chamou e ... eles o seguiram. (Mat. 4 : 21, 22).
8. Deus os tratará com misericórdia também. (Mat. 5 : 7).
9. Deus os chamará de filhos. (Mat. 5 : 9).
10. Ao contrário, coloca-a no lugar próprio. (Mat. 5 : 15).
11. Arranque-o e jogue fora. (Mat. 5 : 29).
12. Vocês os conhecerão pelo que eles fazem. (Mat. 7 : 16).
13. Quem ouve estas minhas palavras e as obedece ... (Mat. 7 : 24).
14. Jesus desceu do monte e uma grande multidão o seguiu. (Mat. 8 : 1).

WL V - 9(o 2nd person):

1. Felizes são vocês quando os insultam. (Mat. 5 : 11).
2. O juiz o entregará à polícia. (Mat. 5 : 25).
3. Se vocês amam só aqueles que os amam ... (Mat. 5 : 46).
4. Eu nunca os conheci. (Mat. 7 : 23).

WL V - 10:

1. Vou ensinar vocês a pescar gente. (Mat. 4 : 19).
2. Se o seu olho direito faz você pecar ... (Mat. 5 : 29)
3. Se processarem você para tomar a sua camisa ... (Mat. 5 : 40).
4. Se alguém obrigar você a levar uma carga um quilômetro ... (Mat. 5 : 41).
5. Amem seus inimigos e orem pelos que perseguem vocês ... (Mat. 5 : 44).
6. Então é claro que ele vai vestir vocês também. (Mat. 6 : 30).
7. Não julguem os outros para que Deus não julgue vocês . (Mat. 7 : 1).
8. Porque Deus vai julgar vocês . (Mat. 7 : 2).
9. ... receberem vocês ... (Mat. 10 : 13).
10. Quando levarem vocês ... (Mat. 10 : 19).
11. Odiarão vocês ... (Mat. 10 : 22).
12. Por isso vou por você para administrar muito. (Mat. 25 : 21).

WL V - 11(D.O. ϕ):

1. Arranque-o e jogue-fora. (Mat. 5 : 29).
2. Se não encontra - ... (Mat. 12 : 43).
3. Ouvem a mensagem, entendem - ... (Mat. 13 : 23).
4. Ninguém acende uma lâmpada para por-debaixo de um cesto. (Mat. 5 : 15).
5. Se a sua mão ou o seu pé faz você pecar, corte-e jogue-fora. (Mat. 18 : 8).
6. Então agarraram o filho, jogaram-fora da plantação ... (Mat. 21 : 39).
7. Eles o amarraram, levaram-e o entregaram a Pilatos. (Mat. 27 : 2).
8. Deram vinho. Mas depois de provar - ele não quis. (Mat. 27 : 34).
9. Então José pegou o corpo, enrolou-num lençol novo de linho, e colocou-no seu próprio túmulo. (Mat. 27 : 59).

WL V - 12:

1. Enquanto pensava nisso, um anjo do Senhor apareceu a ele em sonho. (Mat. 1 : 20).

2. E você dará a ele o nome de Jesus. (Mat. 1 : 21).
3. Então vou responder a eles ... (Mat. 7 : 23).
4. ... disse a ele ... (Mat. 9 : 9)
5. ... e não dizia nada a eles ... (Mat. 13 : 34).
6. Adore o Senhor seu Deus e sirva somente a ele. (Mat. 4 : 10).
7. O Reino do Céu pertence a eles! (Mat. 5 : 3).
8. O Pai que está no céu dá de comer a eles. (Mat. 6 : 26).
9. O povo levou a ele muitas pessoas. (Mat. 8 : 16).
10. ... falarão a eles ... (Mat. 10 : 18).

WL V - 13:

1. Porém eu digo a vocês ... (Mat. 5 : 31).
2. Se perdoarem as ofensas que os outros têm feito a vocês ... (Mat. 6 : 14).
3. Mas eu afirmo a vocês ... (Mat. 6 : 29).
4. Ele dará a vocês todas as outras coisas ... (Mat. 6 : 33).
5. Façam aos outros o que querem que eles façam a vocês. (Mat. 7 : 12).

WL V - 14(lhe 2nd person):

1. Eu lhe darei tudo isto. (Mat. 4 : 9).
2. Se alguém lhe der um tapa na cara ... (Mat. 5 : 39).
3. ... empreste a quem lhe pedir emprestado. (Mat. 5 : 42).
4. Seu pai, que vê o que você faz em segredo, lhe dará a recompensa. (Mat. 6 : 4).
5. E ele ... lhe dará a recompensa. (Mat. 6 : 6).
6. É o chefe do demônio que lhe dá poder. (Mat. 9 : 34).
7. E lhes deu autoridade para expulsarem espíritos maus. (Mat. 10 : 1).

WL V - 15:

1. Nenhum aluno é mais importante do que o seu professor. (Mat. 10 : 24).
2. Nenhum deles cai no chão sem que isso seja a vontade do Pai. (Mat. 10 : 29).

WL V - 16:

1. Ninguém acende uma lâmpada para por debaixo de um cesto. (Mat. 5 : 15).

WL V - 17(seu 2nd person):

1. Adore o Senhor seu Deus. (Mat. 4 : 10).
2. Se o seu olho direito faz você pecar ... (Mat. 5 : 29).
3. É melhor perder uma parte do seu corpo ... (Mat. 5 : 29).
4. Se processarem você para tomarem a sua camisa ... (Mat. 5 : 40).
5. Amem seus inimigos ... (Mat. 5 : 44).
6. Seu Pai ... (Mat. 6 : 4).
7. O coração de vocês estará onde estiverem suas riquezas. (Mat. 6 : 21).
8. Se seus olhos forem maus, o seu corpo todo ficará na escuridão. (Mat. 6 : 23).

WL V - 18(seu 3rd person):

1. Depois abriram suas caixas e lhe ofereceram presentes. (Mat. 2 : 11).

2. Porque ele salvará seu povo dos pecados deles. (Mat. 1 : 21)
3. Vimos sua estrela no Oriente e viemos adorá-lo. (Mat. 2 : 2).
4. Confessavam seus pecados e ele os batizava no rio Jordão. (Mat. 3 : 6).
5. Eles vão segurá-los com suas mãos. (Mat. 4 : 6).
6. ... que eram colocados aos seus pés. (Mat. 15 : 30).

WL V - 19:

1. Nem mesmo em Israel vi tanta fé. (Luke 7 : 9)

WL VI - 1:

1. ... nos saímos muito bem.
2. ... sem amor ninguém existiria.
3. Não o tinha provado.
4. ... sem pedir nada.
5. ... somos nós que a fazemos assim.
6. A felicidade não está no muito possuir, mas onde a pomos.
7. Ninguém pode fugir a isso.
8. Quem a faz ruim somos nós mesmos.
9. Vamos pensar e ver as coisas que ela nos oferece.
10. Ele apanha-os e me devolve.
11. Não existe nada mais lindo ...
12. O homem, ... nunca chegará à perfeição de Deus.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION: (P.O.).

PO I - 1:

1. Não gerando obrigação de espécie alguma para a pessoa jurídica interessada.

PO I - 2:

1. Não gerando obrigação de espécie alguma para a pessoa jurídica interessada nem qualquer direito para o beneficiário.
2. O artigo nao se estende a quaisquer outras que não a nela prevista.
3. Porém nos autos não existe qualquer prova.
4. A opinião do magistrado, sem apoio em qualquer prova, não pode ter força.

PO I - 3:

1. Ora, se a coisa puder ser decidida por outro fundamento, razão alguma há para o pedido de uniformização de jurisprudência.

PO I - 4:

1. Nem as bactérias não sobriariam.

PO II - 1:

1. Não tinha nada.
2. Nao fez nada.

PO II - 2:

1. Eu não convidei ele nada não.

PO II - 3:

1. Tirando eu ...

PO II - 4(o 3rd person):

1. Eu não o provoco nunca.

PO II - 5:

1. Não tinha nada e nada tenho.
2. O governo não faz nada e nada faz.
3. Não fiz nada e nada faço.

PO II - 6:

1. Eu não convidei ele nada não.

PO II - 7:

1. Como se nada nunca tivesse existido.

PO II - 8:

1. Não tem sentido algum.
2. Não tenho sonho algum a realizar.

PO II - 9:

1. Não houve nenhum.
2. Não tenho sonho nenhum a realizar.

PO II - 10:

1. Eu não o provoco nunca.

PO II - 11:

1. Ninguém não ajudou nada.
2. Ninguém não atravessa não.

PO II - 12:

1. Eu não consigo beber café sem depois não beber água.

PO II - 13:

1. Nenhuma das menina lá não gosta de ficar servindo.

PO III - 1:

1. Nem tempero na comida não pega.

PO III - 2:

1. Ele veio aqui nunca não.

PO III - 3:

1. Nem João sabe disso.

PO III - 4:

1. Nenhum vendedor ficou de fora.

PO IV - 1:

1. Ele não dava nada pros filhos.
2. Eu nao sei de nada.
3. João nao sabe de nada.

PO IV - 2:

1. O irmão levou ele.

PO IV - 3:

1. O irmão dele.

PO IV - 4:

1. Vai nada.
2. É bonita nada.
3. Tenho nada.
4. Ele é o mais velho da senhora? É nada.
5. Tem nada.

PO IV - 5:

1. Falou não.
2. Dá não.

PO IV - 6:

1. Não quero ver soltar tiro não.
2. Nao tem medo não?
3. Nao adianta nao.

PO IV - 7:

1. Não quis ficar de jeito nenhum.

PO IV - 8:

1. Não parava nem aqui nem na roça.

PO IV - 9:

1. Nem ela não mora no meu coração.
2. Nem Cachoeiro eu não conheço.

PO IV - 10:

1. Nem na igreja ele nunca foi.

PO IV - 11:

1. Nenhuma canoa não chega até lá.
2. Nenhuma das duas não tem.
3. Nenhum pedcador não gosta de pescar aqui.

PO IV - 12:

1. Ninguém tem carteira assinada.

PO IV - 13:

1. Ele nunca bebeu antes de casar.

2. Vocês nunca fizeram mal a mim.
3. Eu nunca plantei não.

PO IV - 14:

1. Nunca ninguém faz nada por mal.

PO IV - 15:

1. A gente não fica com raiva.

PO IV - 16:

1. Vou no carro de vocês.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. ALLEYNE, Mervyn C. (1974) Acculturation and the cultural matrix of creolization. In Dell Hymes (1974 : 169-186).
2. BAILEY, C-J. N. (1973a) The patterning of language variation. In Bailey and Robinson (1973 : 156-186).
3. BAILEY, C-J. N. (1973b) Variation and linguistic theory. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.
4. BAILEY, R.W. and ROBINSON, J.L. (1973) Varieties of present-day English. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.
5. BECHARA, Evanildo (1976) Moderna gramática portuguesa. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.
6. BELLO, Andrés D. (1918) Gramática de la lengua castellana. Paris: A. Roger y F. Chernoviz.
7. BICKERTON, Derek (1971) Inherent variability and variable rules. Foundations of Language, No. 7 : 457-492.
8. BICKERTON, Derek (1972) The structure of polylectal grammars. In Shuy (1972 : 17-42).
9. BICKERTON, Derek (1973) The nature of a creole continuum. Reprinted from Language 49, No. 3 : 640-669.
10. BICKERTON, Derek (1975) Dynamics of a creole system. London: Cambridge University Press.
11. BÍBLIA NA LINGUAGEM DE HOJE (A) - O NOVO TESTAMENTO (1973). Tradução na linguagem de hoje. 1st. printing. São Paulo: IMPRES.
12. BÍBLIA SAGRADA (A) (1977) Translated by Almeida, João Ferreira de. 35th printing. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Bíblica Brasileira.
13. BULL, W.E. (1964) The use of vernacular languages in education. In Dell Hymes (1964 : 527-533).
14. CARNEIRO LEÃO, Ernesto (1956) Trêplica. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Civilização Brasileira.
15. CORDER, S.P. (1977) Language continua and the inter-language hypothesis. In Corder and Roulet (1977 : 11-18).

16. CORDER, S.P. and ROULET, E. (1977) The notions of simplification, inter-languages and pidgins and their relation to second language pedagogy. Genève: Librairie Droz.
17. CRIPER, C. and DAVIES, Alan (1974) A report to the Scottish Education Department. University of Edinburgh.
18. DEGLER, Carl N. (1971) Neither black nor white. New York: The MacMillan Company.
19. DIAS, A. Epiphânio da Silva (1970) Sintaxe histórica portuguesa. Lisboa: Livraria Classica Editora.
20. ESPÍRITO SANTO: CRESCIMENTO E DESIGUALDADE SOCIAL: ANÁLISE INTRODUTÓRIA DE ALGUNS DADOS DA PESQUISA SÓCIO-ECONÔMICA 1977 (1979). Vitória: Secretaria de Estado do Planejamento. Governo do Espírito Santo.
21. ESTRUTURA DEMOGRÁFICA DO ESPÍRITO SANTO 1940/2000 (1977) Vitória: Fundação Jones dos Santos Neves, Governo do Estado do Espírito Santo.
22. FARIAS DE LACERDA, Eulício (1966) Sintaxe do português contemporâneo. 2nd printing. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Pongetti.
23. FASOLD, Ralph (19) Sociolinguistics: contributions to bilingual education. Unpublished mimeograph.
24. FIAD, Raquel Salek (1975) Aspectos da negação em português. Unpublished M.A. thesis. Campinas: UNICAMP.
25. FERGUSON, Charles A. and DEBOSE, Charles E. (1977) The question of prior creolization in Black English. In Valdman (1977 : 190-221).
26. FREIRE, Paulo (1978) Pedagogy of the oppressed. (Ramos, M.B., trans.) Penguin Books.
27. GILES, H. and POWESLAND, P.F. (1975) Speech style and social evaluation. London: Academic Press.
28. GUIAS CURRICULARES PROPOSTOS PARA AS MATÉRIAS DO NÚCLEO COMUM DO ENSINO DE 1o. GRAU (1976). São Paulo: CERHUPE, Secretaria da Educação.
29. HANCOCK, Ian F. (1977) Recovering pidgin genesis: approaches and problems. In Valdman (1977 : 277-294)
30. HYMES, D.H. (1964) Language in culture and society. New York: Harper and Row.

31. HYMES, D.H. (1974) Introduction. In Hymes, (1974 : 65-90).
32. HYMES, D.H. (1974) Pidginisation and creolisation of languages. London: Cambridge University Press.
33. HOLY BIBLE (THE) (1955) Authorized King James version. Glasgow: Collins Clear-Type Press.
34. JUCÁ (filho) Cândido (1937) Língua nacional. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Civilização Brasileira.
35. KIERNAN, V.G. (1972) The lords of human kind. Penguin Books.
36. LABOV, William (1976a) Sociolinguistic patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
37. LABOV, William (1976b) The study of language in its social context. In Pride and Holmes (1976 : 180-202).
38. LABOV, William (1977) Language in the inner city: studies in the Black English vernacular. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
39. LAVANDERA, B. (1978) Where does the sociolinguistic variable stop? In Language in society. 7 : 171-182. London: Cambridge University Press.
40. Lyons, John (1977) Semantics (Vol. 2). London: Cambridge University Press.
41. LE PAGE, R.B. (1977) Processes of pidginization and creolization. In Valdman (1977 : 222-255).
42. LE PAGE, R.B. (1978) Projection, focussing, diffusion. Occasional paper No. 9. Trinidad: University of West Indies.
43. LE PAGE, R.B. and TABOURET-KELLER, A. (1979) Theoretical aspects of socio-linguistic studies in pidgin and creole languages. University of York.
44. MACIEL, Maximino (1914) Gramática descritiva. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria.
45. MARTINS SEQUEIRA, F.J. (1943) Aspectos do português arcaico. Lisboa: Tipografia Uniao Gráfica.
46. MASON, Philip (1971) Patterns of dominance. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
47. MENDONÇA, Renato (1973) A influência africana no português do Brasil. 4th printing. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.

48. MORAES, E.R. (1973) O infinito flexionado em português: uma análise transformacional.
Vitória: Departamento de Imprensa Oficial.
49. NARO, Anthony J. (1973) A study on the origins of pidginization.
Language 54, N. 2 : 314-347.
50. NEW TESTAMENT (GOOD NEWS) (1976) Today's English version. Glasgow: William Collins & Sons Co. Ltd.
51. PARECER NO. 1.032 (1974) Conselho Federal de Educação (Report written by Chagas, V.) Brasília: Ministério da Educação e Cultura.
52. PARECER NO. 4.031 (1975) Conselho Federal da Educação (Report written by Renault, A.) Brasília: Ministério da Educação e Cultura.
53. PRIDE, J.B. and HOLMES, Janet (1976) Sociolinguistics. Penguin Books.
54. RAMOS, Arthur (1937) As culturas negras no novo mundo. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira S.A.
55. RAMOS, Arthur (1956) O negro na civilização brasileira. São Paulo: Empresa Gráfica Carioca Ltda.
56. RECREIO (1978) No. 361. São Paulo: Editora Abril.
57. RÉVAH, I.S. (1963) La question des substrats et superstrata dans le domaine linguistique brésilien. Romania. 84 : 433-450.
58. RICKFORD, John R. (1977) The question of prior creolization in Black English. In Valdman (1977 : 190-221).
59. RODRIGUES LAPA, M. (1973) Estilística da língua portuguesa. Lisboa: Seara Nova.
60. ROMAINE, S. The status of sociolinguistic theory. (Forthcoming)
61. SAID ALI (1966) Gramática histórica da língua portuguesa. 6th printing. São Paulo : Edições Melhoramentos.
62. SANKOFF, G. (1977) Review of Bickerton's 'Dynamics of a creole system'. Journal of linguistics 13, No. 2 : 292-305.
63. SEARLE, John R. (1976) Speech acts. London: Cambridge University Press.

64. SHUY, Roger W. (1972) Sociolinguistics: current trends and prospects. No. 25. Monograph series on languages and linguistics, 23rd Annual Round Table. Georgetown University: School of Languages and Linguistics.
65. SILVA NETO, Serafim da (1951) Introdução ao estudo da língua portuguesa no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro.
66. SILVEIRA BUENO (1944) Gramática normativa da língua portuguesa. Sao Paulo: Livraria Acadêmica.
67. SOUSA DA SILVEIRA (1937) Lições de português. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira S/A.
68. SOUSA DA SILVEIRA (1938) Trechos seletos. Sao Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional.
69. TODD, Loreto (1974) Pidgins and creoles. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
70. TRAUGOTT, Elizabeth Closs (1977) Pidginization, creolization, and language change. In Valdman, Albert (1977 : 70-98).
71. TRUDGILL, Peter (1978) Creolization in reverse: reduction and simplification in the Albanian dialects of Greece. In Transactions of the philological society: 32-50. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
72. TSUZAKI, Stanley (1974) Coexistent systems in language variation. In Dell Hymes (1974 : 327-339).
73. VALDMAN, Albert (1977) Creolization: elaboration in the development of creole French dialects. In Valdman, Albert (1977 : 155-189).
74. VALDMAN, Albert (1977) Pidgin and creole linguistics. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
75. VALKHOFF, Marius F. (1966) Studies in Portuguese and creole (With special reference to South Africa). Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
76. WHINNOM, Keith (1974) Linguistic hybridization and the 'special case' of pidgins and creoles. In Dell Hymes (1974 : 91-115).
80. LABOV, William (1966) The Social Stratification of English in New York City. Washington D.C. Center for Applied Linguistics.